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FAMILY, SOCIAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL POLICY IN
THE WEST INDIES¹

For Europe and North America there is a large literature devoted to the evaluation of social policies; for the Caribbean it is often difficult to find out what the policies are, much less how they are actually implemented. Most social welfare agencies in the Commonwealth West Indies have the shape and direction which they acquired during the colonial period, and in spite of some recent new departures it is to that period we must refer in order to understand the present situation. The last major review of social policy in the West Indies was occasioned by the riots and disturbances of the late 1930s, which led to the appointment of a Royal Commission and the subsequent passage of the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1940 and 1945. Independence from Britain has not generally resulted in a searching examination of social policy, rhetoric to the contrary. The tendency seems to be to try to bring the area into line with a universal "modern" practice, suitable or not, for no politician wishes to appear to be unprogressive.

This paper is not intended as a review of social policy, even in the restricted area of the family. Others will have to undertake that task. Its more modest aim is to re-examine the premises on which the policies of the terminal phase of colonial rule were based, to ask how they appear in the light of more recent work on the family, and then in the final section, and with the greatest hesitation, to suggest some implications of this work for the formulation of policy bearing on the family.

COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE

The first Social Welfare Adviser to the Comptroller for Development and Welfare in the West Indies, a post created in response to the riots of 1938 and the report of the Royal Commission which investigated their causes, was T.S. SIMEY. An academic sociologist who eventually became Charles Booth Professor of Social Science in the University of Liverpool, he spent the years 1941 to 1945 struggling to understand the nature of West Indian society and devise policies appropriate for it, rather than just importing ready-made schemes from Europe. He believed, ardently, in the possibility of a scientific approach to social engineering.

In the modern history of social policy in this region SIMEY is a particularly strategic figure. Not only did he play a leading part in implementing the new colonial policies but he also absorbed the social ideas of the most progressive elements of the West Indian middle class, and particularly the Jamaican middle class. He taught the first graduates of the new Welfare Training Courses held at Mona, Jamaica in 1943 and 1944, thus helping to set the pattern for future training. Most importantly he embodied his ideas and his experience in a book which is an indispensable guide to the thought of the period. Internally contradictory in many ways, *Welfare and Planning in the West Indies* raises all the important issues, and he regarded it as "the record of the beginning of a fascinating and supremely important experiment in the planning of society and human relationships" (SIMEY 1946: 30).

SIMEY is also relevant to our topic in that he regarded the family as a central institution, with a formative influence on personality, and thus on society as a whole. In this he followed the conventional wisdom of his day and foreshadowed many subsequent interpretations which also found "looseness" of family relations to be a major factor making for persistent poverty (M.G. SMITH 1966; MOYNIHAN 1965).

The bedrock of SIMEY's thinking is a series of ideas which are still with us in the 1980's, the simplest being that the West Indies are impoverished economically, disorganized socially and deficient culturally. "The symptoms of serious disease in the body of

modern society are only too obvious in the Colonies in general, and in the West Indies in particular" (SIMEY 1946: vi). Although his task is to "investigate the causes of the ills which lie behind [the symptoms] and propound a really effective cure" he has decided *a priori* that colonial society is a special kind of problem. "Life in the Colonies is, indeed, lived in a backwater from the main stream of human affairs, at one and the same time in several centuries, the social philosophies, moral values, and customs of which are mingled together in the wildest confusion" (ibid). How this differs from Britain with its ceremonial royalty, vestigial aristocracy, nineteenth century utilitarian economic ethic and the beginnings of a twentieth century welfare state, he does not say.

In the circumstances of the 1940's political independence appeared to be some way off, contingent upon a series of intermediate factors. Self-determination would not be possible without adequate wealth, and that was dependent upon a "social dynamic" powerful enough to drive the economic machine. Modern sociology was to provide both the understanding of the problems and the techniques for solving them; techniques for generating the "social dynamic" that would set the machine of progress in motion. "The work of the academic sociologist is being steadily translated into the language of the administrator, and a new method has been developed whereby social relationships and social problems can be studied objectively" (SIMEY 1946: viii). These are brave words and upon their promise has grown up a veritable industry of survey research, data banks, training programmes in social and political administration, experts, advisers and consultants. Sociology as an academic discipline would have been better served if it had claimed less and had fewer impossible demands placed upon it. It is a pity that SIMEY had not been influenced more by KARL MARX and MAX WEBER who knew, each in their own way, that the naive positivism of a supposedly value-free social science does not provide a set of blueprints for utopia.

In proper scientific manner SIMEY begins with a discussion of the infra-structure, a discussion reminiscent of DURKHEIM. Distances, densities, communications, population characteristics (deploring the lack of adequate statistics), are all dealt with before he

turns to the issue of economic production, housing ("the most striking fact about the West Indian peoples, as exemplified in their houses, is their poverty"), income distribution, nutrition (SIMEY 1946: 11). And thus we come to the family by way of a direct comparison with Britain and America, in spite of the equal value of all ways of life.

In Great Britain and North America nutrition centres on the family, and it is impossible to arrive at a clear understanding of social conditions in the West Indies without some consideration of the problem of family organization. The wages earned in Barbados for example, are insufficient to support family life of the type common in Great Britain; in the West Indies all members of a working-class family have to work if the budget is to be balanced (SIMEY 1946: 14-15).

He goes on to contrast the way in which a common family meal in Britain acts as a prop to family solidarity, whereas in the West Indies because the working classes do not possess the necessary furniture this integrating activity is absent. This kind of crude, and simple-minded, determinism crops up again and again, even though in other places he makes many astute observations which totally contradict the idea that poverty determines all. The crux of the matter for SIMEY is that (1946: 15)

The prevailing type of West Indian family which is encountered over and over again in all the colonies is very loose in organization. It is rarely founded on the ceremony of marriage, and the relationships between its members are often very casual indeed. There is little control over the children, who may receive plenty of maternal affection . . . but little in the way of careful general upbringing.

It is fateful for the subsequent argument that poverty becomes the prime factor in shaping family relations. Men cannot discharge those obligations which are accepted without question in Britain and North America. But poverty is only part of a wider condition; along with lack of resources and inadequate nutrition there is a more general "weakness in social organization." Only the church "stands out as a rock round which the welter of disorganized human life surges" (SIMEY 1946: 18). However, the church does not seem to be able to fill the cultural void left by the forcible divorce from African culture and the as yet incomplete possession of the western way of life. Without the binding power of a common culture, and internally divided by racial cleavage, the picture is very like that drawn by J.C. FURNIVALL for the "plural societies"

of the Far East — as we were repeatedly to be reminded by M.G. SMITH during the next two decades. Unlike M.G. SMITH, both SIMEY and FURNIVALL stressed the solvent power of modern capitalism, and both called for cultural renewal or a new form of secular religion, nationalism (See R.T. SMITH 1966 for a discussion).

SIMEY's treatment of religion runs curiously parallel to his discussion of the family. In neither case are African forms suitable for life in the West Indies. Some aspects of African religion persist in the form of superstitions embodied in sects which he dismisses contemptuously as sapping the energies of the people and undermining their economic life. Similarly sexual activity filled a need for self-expression and gratification among slaves, and like superstition it continues to function in the same way in the present. From the baseline of the slave plantation one can follow the functional adaptation of behaviour right up to the present. If Haitian peasants have several wives it is because they need them to work their holdings; similarly Jamaican farmers must have the right to chop and change among partners in the interest of keeping up production. Migration within a particular territory, or to find work outside, leads "naturally" to the creation of several families and the man has to stop sending support payments to the previous partner. So, economic factors account for "the prevalence of the maternal family," but not totally; the patriarchal nature of the "true peasant family" (described in almost the same terms as were used subsequently by HENRIQUES 1953: 109), tends to prejudice "the vast majority of young women against marriage as such" (SIMEY 1946: 87). Indeed he recognises that in the towns, where prosperity is greatest, one finds the least marital stability.

When we have peeled back all the layers of SIMEY's discussion we come to a series of ideas about personality which, while not unique to him, have a decided effect upon his policy proposals. Juvenile delinquency is widespread he says — without offering any evidence for the assertion — and he follows this surprising observation with some speculations about child care and discipline. Children grow up without "that close association between father and child" which is taken for granted in Great Britain and North America. Children are allowed to run wild outside but are

harshly disciplined at home. Adults, not being "schooled in self-control" cause children to grow up suffering from "excessive anxiety and feelings of insecurity" (SIMEY 1946: 90). Add onto this the frustration engendered by racial discrimination and what do you get? Aggression, often disguised as unreliability, laziness, sensitivity to insult and even physical hostility.² The middle classes are subject to even more stress than the lower class; efforts to dissociate themselves from the masses, combined with the excessive individualism and competitiveness of modern life, creates hostility, a domineering attitude to the lower class and a "profound spiritual *malaise*" (ibid: 104). This is all the more significant for SIMEY since middle class patterns of behaviour have to be adopted by the whole society. "There is no going back, no possibility of founding a new culture on working class society alone" (SIMEY 1946: 103).

Recognising that the West Indies cannot divorce itself from the rest of the world, and contending that things are getting worse rather than better, he calls for a total reorientation of administrative thinking. Recruitment of a better type of colonial administrator, efficient, selected by modern methods of psychological testing, open to scientific knowledge and dependent upon the dispassionate views of sociologists and anthropologists to guide the West Indian peoples toward self-determination via community organisation and group therapy. All that nasty aggression, laziness and sexual self-indulgence must be treated by methods developed for dealing with disturbed ex-prisoners of war. Through group therapy they have been restored to normalcy without any recourse to moralising. Ultimately SIMEY's vision is a polity ruled by an élite, a specifically West Indian élite to be sure, guided by cadres of social researchers providing blue-prints for middle class leaders.

A specifically West Indian plan of action must be adopted, and the preparation of the essential blue-print is the task facing the sociologist (SIMEY 1946: 239). From the West Indian point of view, the future lies with the middle classes. Given a collaboration between them and their friends in Great Britain, progress towards the building up of a mass political movement of which they will become the leaders should be steady and secure (ibid: 258).

And who is to say that it has not been steady and secure? It is true

that he regarded BUSTAMANTE with apprehension, but he would surely have approved of SIR ALEXANDER BUSTAMANTE. The West Indies now have an abundance of planners, blue-print makers, analysts of social ills and fabricators of new cultural orientations — frequently disguised as discovered “roots.” And there is no doubt that things are better in many ways now than they were in 1945. There is more education, better health and nutrition, better housing, people are better clothed, and there is even better public transportation, water supplies and power. To what extent these things are the result of careful planning and not just a shrewd political response to widespread public demand, a response made possible only because of a period of world-wide economic growth, is an interesting question — which I do not intend to pursue. What is interesting though is that *there seems to have been very little change in family structure.*

SIMEY had one flash of insight. He failed to follow it up but it does provide me with a convenient lead into the next section, which is an examination of West Indian kinship in the light of some recent research.³

WEST INDIAN KINSHIP AND FAMILY STRUCTURE

The exploitation of the women of the masses by the men of the upper classes has brought with it a general lowering of standards of behaviour which is now a part of a West Indian culture common to people of all races. The upper classes have set a bad example which it will take many generations to efface, and it is by no means certain that as middle class standards become more widespread in the population the situation will show any tendency towards improvement (SIMEY 1946: 100–101).

Here we are suddenly spirited away from all that poverty and lack of furniture and absence of a common meal, into a far different realm; a realm of power and exploitation — words which SIMEY uses quite rarely. SIMEY has hit upon a most important truth, though he does not pursue it very far. In order to understand West Indian kinship it must be seen in the context of class, and classes are not discrete, separate groups, each with its own culture and way of life; they are entities in relationship with each other. The fate of one is intimately bound up with the fate of the other.

SIMEY's idea of "a bad example" is silly, as though West Indians were children. This is a system of social relations and a structure of ideological concepts which were in place almost from the beginning of settlement in the West Indies.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A STRUCTURE AND ITS TRANSFORMATIONS

The early settlements on St. Christopher, Nevis, Montserrat, Antigua and Barbados came closest in form to those established on the North American mainland. RICHARD DUNN (1972: 18) says that "Until the 1640's the Barbadians formed a simple community of peasant farmers".

By 1640 the population of Barbados was about the same as that of Virginia, but its tobacco exports were considered to be inferior to those of the mainland colonies. The tobacco period, from 1627 to about 1640, was one of rapid population increase but it was not an economically successful period, nor did it produce a family based society; the settlers were mainly young and there was a chronic shortage of females. The growth of sugar cultivation between 1640 and 1660, accompanied by the importation of African slaves, ensured that Barbados would not follow colonies such as Massachusetts in creating a family system close to that of England. Henceforward slavery impressed its mark upon all social institutions, including kinship and the family, though not quite in the way it has generally been suggested. Barbados was not unique; it was merely a forerunner of developments in all the West Indian territories.

Britons and Africans together created a creole society. The Britons no more preserved their customs than did the Africans; between them, and out of their hatreds, exploitations, copulations, mutual dependencies and sometimes even love, they created a new social order, an order that has been accorded any social value with only the most grudging reluctance.

The next two centuries saw the growth and spread of plantation agriculture using slave labour, a system which, whatever else it was, represented an advanced form of rational agriculture with careful accounting and calculation at all stages of production,

transport and sale. The slave was property of course, and not all aspects of life were yet "commoditized." Planters made conscious calculations about the relative costs of replacement or reproduction of the labour force. The plantation mode of production had enormous influence upon every aspect of the lives of those involved in it, but it was not the sole, direct determinant of family and kinship relations. Port Royal in the seventeenth century had "yards" with kinship units reminiscent of those of modern Kingston; Belize and the Bahamas had "West Indian kinship" without plantations. The crucial factor seems to have been the establishment of a hierarchical social order in which racial categorization was fundamental, and in which a dual marriage system was institutionalized. Such systems are not unique to the West Indies, or even unusual, but Caribbean kinship has not yet been placed in a full comparative framework (See SMITH 1982).

Recent historical scholarship on the West Indies and North America has begun to establish a series of propositions which reverse prior thinking about the influence of slavery on family structure. GUTMAN (1976), GENOVESE (1972) and FOGEL & ENGERMAN (1974), in their various ways, argue that slave families in North America were far more "normal" than previously had been thought. They attribute the "disorganization" of black families more to the conditions, and especially the economic conditions, which faced freedmen after emancipation, especially with the hardening of racial prejudice which locked them out of economic opportunity. For the British West Indies CRATON has summarised the recent revision of the picture of slave families as follows:

if one took the nuclear two-headed family as the quintessentially modern family form, it was beguilingly easy to propose its different incidence during the registration period as relating to the degree of maturation, creolization, or modernization of each slave unit, and thus to suggest a historical progression from some aboriginal African form of family (CRATON 1979: 25).

the discovery by Higman ... that Africans were at least as likely as Creoles to form nuclear families, modified the original model. This revision ... led Higman to a second developmental model ... the establishment of "elementary nuclear families" was the primary response of the displaced Africans ... A second slave generation began to establish extended families based on the formation of virilocal "yards" within single plantations ... in subsequent generations, kinship networks expanded as slaves increasingly practised exogamy. ... The process

tended toward matrifocality rather than the nuclear family, especially where lack of slave-controlled provision grounds, money, and property deprived slaves of the chance of "marriage strategies" (*ibid.*: 26-27).

CRATON accepts HIGMAN's more differentiated model and elaborates the context of changing plantation organization, increased miscegenation, and the deteriorating quality of slave life. In spite of his tendentious use of such terms as "nuclear family" and his misuse of the concept of matrifocality (he seems to think it means female-headed households), and in spite of his belief in the importance of the "filtering down into the West Indies of evolving concepts of the 'modern' family" (*ibid.*: 28), he recognises, more by a kind of feeling than from any real evidence, the importance of continuing African traditions especially as regards marriage (*ibid.*: 31).

The general direction of CRATON's argument accords with that being presented here, though he appears to underemphasize the importance of creolization. It was not so much the "filtering down" of "concepts of the 'modern' family" as it was the growing involvement of Blacks in the dual marriage system of creole society and in the system of social relations structured by class and colour values. However, he is right to stress the peculiarity of the marriage system of Africans which, to oversimplify, generally makes a sharp separation between sexual relations and the contract of marriage which establishes political rights, rights over the procreative powers of women (regardless of "biology"), and rights of inheritance and succession. Even in some highly patriarchal, patrilineal societies, such as the Nuer, there may be great freedom in making and breaking sexual unions while marriage remains stable. One can speculate that there was a certain compatibility between the freedom to make and break sexual unions, and the developing structure of the dual marriage system of creole, class society. While the two are by no means the same, they could converge. However, speculation is not history, and what is needed is detailed evidence as to the nature of such convergence.

It is proposed here that the different forms of family found in the West Indies are generated by a set of principles which find differential expression in varying social and economic contexts. These principles are not to be found enunciated in oral tradition

or set out in any document; they must be inferred from a wide range of manifestations, both historical and contemporary. Overformalisation of these principles eliminates the ambiguity, uncertainty and contradictions which are an integral part of the system. Unfortunately it is necessary to provide a summary which involves just such overformalisation, but it is hoped that case material will go some way toward restoring the uncertainty of real life.

THE SYSTEM OUTLINED

The West Indian system of kinship, marriage and the family consists in a differentiated series of forms generated by

- 1) a *mating system* which enjoins marriage with status equals and non-legal unions with women of lower status
- 2) a *kinship system* which places a lower priority of solidary emphasis on conjugal than on consanguineal ties
- 3) a *family system* which is matrifocal but not matriarchal
- 4) a *domestic system* which does not confine relations within an easily defined and bounded "household"
- 5) a *system of sex role differentiation* which stresses the segregation of conjugal roles, permits the participation of women in the occupational system, allows men to disperse economic resources, but requires that women concentrate them.
- 6) *cultural assumptions* which assign specific characteristics to "West Indian" sexual and marital patterns.

Unwieldy though this statement is, it has the advantage of bringing together a number of controversial issues which have usually been the subject of quite one-sided arguments. We may take these points one by one.⁴

A mating system which enjoins marriage with status equals and non-legal unions with women of lower status.

SIMEY apparently appreciated the importance of this dual marriage system when he wrote the statement quoted earlier (page 117 above), but he quite failed to follow the origin of this system of hypergamous marriage back to "slavery" as will any middle class

West Indian in discussing the origin of the middle class itself. ALEXANDER (1977: 431) has documented what he terms the myth of origin of the Jamaican middle class; their ideas about the descent of the middle class from "a white planter and a black slave." The equation of middle class status with mixed racial origin is an interesting aspect of the way in which class is conceptualised, but the myth also encapsulates certain generic ideas about the embeddedness of the "inside/outside" distinction in the marriage system. While there is no formal rule sanctioning "outside" unions — indeed extra-marital sexual relations are formally condemned — it is clear that non-legal unions, whether co-residential or not, are generally accepted. In private conversation a Jamaican Judge pointed out that adultery is almost never advanced as grounds for divorce in Jamaica. A petitioner will usually cite her husband's taking up with another woman as the beginning of a series of acts of cruelty, or as precipitating desertion. In the case reported in *The Star* on February 10th 1982, the petitioner said that the marriage "went well for the first few years and then they started having very serious problems . . . in June 1976 her husband told her that he was seeing a young lady. She spoke to him and told him to break off his relationship with the young lady, but he told her that he had no intention of so doing." Eventually he started living with the other woman, while continuing to live with his wife, and she had a child at the end of 1977. However, the petition for divorce was based on numerous assaults and acts of cruelty during the period 1979 to 1981, and not on grounds of adultery.

The origin of the dual marriage system lies in the formative period of West Indian society, when customs common in Europe acquired an intensification and special quality when practised in a slave based society. Whatever the origin of the system, contemporary research shows that it is deeply embedded in the fabric of West Indian life (see AUSTIN 1974; DEVEER 1979; ALEXANDER 1977; R.T. SMITH 1978, 1982). ALEXANDER's discussion of the "myth of origin" of the Jamaican middle class, especially the "established" middle class or people born to middle class status, was referred to earlier. To find the same kind of concept in working class areas was quite surprising. DIANE AUSTIN, on the

basis of field research in a working class neighbourhood in Kingston, reports as follows (1979: 500).

I found that many working-class informants claimed descent from a European, generally a planter, whether or not they could establish the genealogical links. So common was this claim, that where at the outset I had pursued diligently any suggestion of a European relation, I came to treat such claims as fictive. They represented first and foremost a mythic statement of identity in colour-class terms.

AUSTIN (1979: 500) provides a full discussion of the genealogy of a Mrs. Mills, a "near black" woman from the rural parish of St. Mary, now married to a welder. Mrs. Mills gave this account of her background.

My father's father, he is an Englishman for the mother of my grandfather was a fair woman, and the father was an Englishman. I know my grandfather pretty well. He has blue eyes and has silky blond hair . . . My father is pretty nice looking, Indian looking man.

It turned out that Mrs. Mills is indeed the outside child of an outside child, and does have a whole collection of fair-skinned relatives in high status occupations — as AUSTIN was able to observe at the funeral of Mrs. Mills' great-aunt. Mrs. Mills is unusual only in that she has more contact with these relatives than other working class informants who have higher status relatives. However, the point is not that all lower class West Indians have kinship ties with white, fair or high status people — which would be absurd — but that class and status differences are inserted directly into the kinship system by virtue of a dual marriage system which operates at all levels of the society. Nancy Rogers is a hairdresser living in another working class area in Kingston. Previously married, she separated from her husband who later migrated to England and died there. Born in the country, Mrs. Rogers claimed that her father had been a "planter" and not simply a "cultivator." She proclaimed her ambition over and over again and was much preoccupied with questions of colour. In the matter of marriage she proclaimed that

You have to choose a man who can give you children good colour, and make them brighter than you and more upstanding. If you come from black and go

married black again, they no going improve. I not saying you must marry for the sake of colour alone, for there are plenty good black men -teachers and doctors and so on. They have education, so the children born with more sense and refinement.

She herself had two of her three children before she was married. "... when I was sixteen I have Joan ... Is a man name Gordon fall me. He was quite an upstanding man you know." Her special plea to have this man's name omitted from the genealogy, precisely because he was "an upstanding man" is interesting. The name used here is fictitious of course. Mrs. Rogers was very hard on her Aunt Ellie who, she said, was totally lacking in ambition. Aunt Ellie was actually her maternal grandmother.

My granny did have flat mind. She live in the bush there and just like pure black nigger man. So that's why we now don't have better quality. Aunt Ellie did have flat mind man; she just go, go so, with any black man.

Mrs. Rogers, like AUSTIN's informants, has been referred to as "working-class." However, the question of whether one has to draw lines within the lower class is a difficult one. Is there a point in the movement down the status scale where the reference points change? Do we reach a point where there is no question of claiming even mythical descent from a European ancestor? A point where a new stability emerges, unaffected by the dynamics of class interaction though perhaps determined by class position? Is Aunt Ellie's "flat mind" characteristic of a much greater body of people who do not care about status, or if they do are so discouraged that they rest tranquil in a different way of life? The evidence is to the contrary.

AUSTIN (1979: 502) goes quite far in suggesting that "through this class principle in kinship ... life itself is defined by class, and class is legitimated in the process as a universal principle of social organisation — for some families and not others, it is true." She points to the important fact that women constitute almost half the labour force, that forty two per cent of household heads are women — most of them working women — and that female unemployment was running at 35.6% in 1976 in Jamaica (ibid.: 502fn4). However, it is not just economic need that induces women to enter into non-legal unions. Where neither property,

status nor economic need are crucial considerations the structure is still operative, generating an array of visiting, common-law and legal marriages as alternatives, and sometimes as alternatives which are taken up sequentially by the same couple over a lifetime.

A kinship system which places lower priority of solidary emphasis on conjugal than on consanguineal ties.

In view of the preceding discussion it is permissible to ask what is meant by "conjugal ties" in this statement. To which part of the dual marriage system does it refer? By "conjugal ties" is meant the relationships which are found in the whole array of types of union. This aspect of West Indian kinship has been particularly well documented, though information on the middle class (or on the upper class if such can be said to exist), is sparse. The statement on priority of solidary emphasis has been carefully formulated and should not be taken to mean more than it says. It does not say that conjugal bonds are weak (though they might well be); it does not say that marriage in the West Indies is unstable (though that can be measured); it does not say that "love" is not an important element in conjugal relations (ALEXANDER 1978 has documented its ideological importance among the Jamaican middle class). It means precisely what it says; there is a relatively greater emphasis upon consanguineal solidarity than on conjugal ties. More careful research will be needed to establish the range and variability in these relationships, and I would be hard pressed to provide a definition of "solidary" that would permit of easy measurement. However, the results of this relative emphasis can be seen, even in the familial relationships of the stably married. This structural principle articulates very closely with the next two.

A family system which is matrifocal but not matriarchal.

Men dominate West Indian society. Sex role differentiation has a definite hierarchical dimension (see p. 129-133 below). But if men are dominant they are also, in their role as husbands and fathers, apt to be marginal to the cluster of familial relations which focus upon women in their role as mothers. There has been a great deal of misunderstanding of the meaning of "matrifocal," deriving in

large part from misuse of the concept (see R.T. SMITH 1956; 1973; 1978b). It has nothing to do with female-headed households, or if it has the two should be treated separately. The matrifocal nature of family relations is a structural principle which combines with the relative lack of emphasis upon the conjugal relationship to produce a distinctive pattern of feeling and action within the family system. There is a close link between this and the dual marriage system, though the link is at the level of structural principle rather than specific events.

It has been common to think of the matrifocal family as being a lower class phenomenon produced by poverty, but there is a splendid historical example which shows the importance of power rather than poverty. An almost archetypical case of a matrifocal family is described by MICHAEL CRATON in his book *Searching for the Invisible Man* (1978).

This family was part of a complex network of kin springing from the various unions of white men and Coloured women in the area of Lluidas Vale, Jamaica, occupied by the Worthy Park plantation. One branch of the family stemmed from the various unions of Dr. John Quier, the famous physician; another from the union of Peter Douglas, owner of Point Hill Estate, and Eleanor Price — originally a mulatto slave, but freed by Peter Douglas in 1789, she bore him ten children and lived as the mistress of his house at Point Hill. Before Eleanor Price became the Kept Mistress of Peter Douglas she bore one child, Lizette. The father was probably a white bookkeeper named Nash. Lizette was a quadroon, being the child of a mulatto mother and a white father, and she caught the eye of Rose Price, great-great-grandson of the founder of Worthy Park Estate who was in Jamaica from about 1792 to 1795 putting the source of the family fortune in order.

When Rose Price, then about 24 years old, first took up with Lizette she was a thirteen year old slave girl. Rose Price arranged for her manumission and she bore two children for him. He returned to England, married a woman with aristocratic connections who bore him fourteen legitimate children and helped to him to acquire a baronetcy. Rose Price left Jamaica before the second child, a son, was born, and Lizette went to live with her mother Eleanor Price, in the house of Peter Douglas. All this sounds quite familiar to anyone who has studied modern West Indian kinship. The subsequent development of the family is of great interest.

Rose Price arranged with Peter Douglas that when his outside children reached a suitable age they should travel to Britain for further education. Elizabeth, the daughter, eventually married a Scots clergyman and never returned to Jamaica. John, the son, after studying engineering, returned to Jamaica in 1823 to live with his mother, grandmother, aunts, uncles (the children of Peter Douglas), and his cousins, in what was clearly a matrifocal household even when Peter Douglas was alive. Both his grandmother and his

mother lived to a ripe old age, and in a surviving letter which John Price Nash wrote to his sister in Scotland he speaks of them both with affection and respect.

This case embodies the structural principles of the system in a vivid way, and it also shows the process by which legitimate and illegitimate lines diverge, becoming polarised in class terms. Elizabeth and her descendants disappeared into the Scottish population until CRATON uncovered the Jamaican connection; John and his descendants became part of the Jamaican middle class but as they were absorbed back into the Jamaican population they became progressively darker when declining material fortune made "good" marriages more difficult to achieve. (See CRATON 1978: 331-339 for details).

In our contemporary middle class material we find cases where a husband-father is perceived to be "irresponsible" by virtue of his "outside" activities of drinking and womanizing. But we also find cases where faithful, sober, devoted husbands are concerned about their children's regard for them.

Mr. Benton explained at length the tendency for Jamaican children to disparage and belittle their fathers.

I have found that very often young people tend to have — young people who are progressing toward adulthood, they tend to regard their father as just a convenience... and this kind of general attitude makes it difficult for the father to play his role properly... and it also seems to me this way, that very often, ah women who are grown up in homes where they didn't have a father — I mean they didn't you know receive the care and protection of a father in a definite way — they seem to grow up without understanding the true role of the father in the home and ahm sometimes they tend, I think too, to believe that everything should revolve around them.

Although he and his wife have "worked out a plan" he is always conscious of the tendency toward a matrifocal bias in the internal relationships of the family, a bias which he sees clearly as coming from men ultimately, and their "outside" activities. This is not just the result of Benton's experience; it is an integral part of the culture of the Caribbean, brought to a sharp focus in the consciousness of the upwardly mobile who are striving to live a planned, careful, orderly, clean, religiously informed life as opposed to what our lower class informants (and Professor SIMEY), call the "loose," "dirty," "careless," "up and down" life of common experience.

A domestic system which does not confine relations within an easily defined and bounded "household."

This has been discussed in previous publications (R.T. SMITH 1973; 1978a; 1978b). Activities such as child care the acquisition, cooking and consumption of food, washing, sleeping, sexual relations and other activities generally regarded as "domestic," are not neatly confined within the bounds of a single "household." Still less can we assume that the typical household contains a nuclear family, appearances and survey data notwithstanding. These are complex issues and space does not permit their extended discussion. Our case materials remind us over and over again that although people are quite prepared to play the game into which they have been educated by several generations of census and survey takers, and provide a neat list of household members, further investigation quickly dissolves the image of the isolated nuclear family.

The family of Mr. and Mrs. Black in the village of August Town, Guyana, was listed in 1953 as living on a particular lot in a particular cluster of wooden buildings — two frame houses and a separate kitchen. Mr. Black, a carpenter, already had several outside children, and he owned a house in another village in which he had installed a lady friend and their son. Two of the Black's daughters were living in August Town with spouses, one married and one in a common-law union. As recorded in 1956, these daughters spent a good deal of their time in the family home with their mother and their children (who always called their maternal grandmother "mama"), ate there frequently, played with Mrs. Black's younger children who were about their age, and often slept there. Mr. Black divided his time (somewhat unpredictably) between his two homes. By 1975 things had changed a good deal. Both Mr. and Mrs. Black were dead. The family home, considerably worse for wear, was now occupied by the youngest daughter and her three children (by three different fathers) and a son — now a police constable. The rates on the land were paid by another daughter now living in the United States of America. For periods the policeman would give a weekly allowance to his sister who then cooked and washed his clothes; but at other times he would complain that she was wasting his money and "board" with a married sister in the village — that is pay her a weekly sum to provide food for him. These married sisters had by now their own grown-up children with whom they maintained close interactive relations that can only be described as "domestic" even though the people involved were apparently distributed over a number of "nuclear family" households. This kind of pattern is not peculiar to rural Guyana. There is no need to labour the point but it is necessary to remember that lists of occupants of "households" do not constitute an adequate guide to family and domestic relations.

A system of sex-role differentiation which stresses the segregation of conjugal roles, permits the participation of women in the occupational system; allows men to disperse economic resources, but requires that women concentrate them.

Until recently the significance of sex-role differentiation as an important component of family structure has been underestimated. ELIZABETH BOTT, (1957; 1968) in her pioneering work on English families, did not at first recognise that her "segregated" and "joint" patterns of conjugal role activity were but special instances of differences in sex-roles.

Implicit in many historical discussions of the family is the idea that a "normal" family is a nuclear family; this assumption is reflected in the very terminology when reference is made to "denuded" families. Another pervasive assumption is that stable, normal families exist when a male in the position of husband-father is possessed of authority and control over economic resources. In many discussions of the slave family and the transition to free labour, the weakness of the family (or the supposed weakness), is attributed to the insecurity of the husband father because of his inability to command steady and adequate income. The concept of a "normal" family consisting of a man who is active in the politico-jural and economic domains, a wife who has responsibility for the domestic domain, and their children to whom legitimate status is transmitted by virtue of the parents' marriage, is a concept with far-reaching consequences. It is embedded in all English thinking about welfare policy since the beginning of the seventeenth century, and inevitably it has deeply affected West Indian discussion of these issues. Unfortunately it bears little relation to the realities of West Indian working class life, nor to English working class life for that matter (see LAND & PARKER 1978).

Kinship and the organization of work.

THOMAS ROUGHLEY'S *The Jamaica Planter's Guide* (1823), a source mined to exhaustion by writers on slavery; has some interesting things to say about work organization. At this period the slave trade had been abolished for some time and planters were concerned about the reproduction of their labour force since that

seemed to be the only method of replacement. ROUGHLEY had a lot to say about child care, the treatment of pregnant women, the care of the aged and so forth, and all these discussions are clearly and overtly linked to the problem of running the plantation. The "great gang" is composed of the strongest and most skilled men *and* women, attended by a field cook who is to see that they are fed well and on time. The second gang is made up of weakly people, youths, sucking mothers and the aged, attended by nurses who look after the infants while the mother is at work in the fields. Mothers get an occasional break in order to feed their children. (Substitute free labour for slave and a factory for a plantation and all this might sound quite "modern"). The third, or "weeding gang" is composed of children from five to six years and upwards under the direction of a driveress. ROUGHLEY appears to be as solicitous of the welfare of these children as any modern social worker. He (1823: 104) points out these children are

drivers, cattlemen, mulemen, carpenters, coopers, and masons, as it were in embryo . . . Even in common life, throughout civilized Europe, the welfare of the child is the grand object of the parent. The owner and the overseer of those valuable shoots should act the part of a parent, fosterer, and protector, looking on them as the future prop and support of the property.

He details the age at which children should be weaned (12 to 14 months), the desirability of "inoculation for the cow or small-pock," the daily feeding of weaned children with soup, and the monthly dosing with worm medicine and castor oil. By the age of three they graduate to a group supervised by an old woman who keeps them clean, fed and busy, each child aided by a "wineglass of acidulated sugar, and a taste of good rum to each, as an enlivener" (ROUGHLEY 1823: 122). Surely preferable to the laudanam with which the children of the English working classes were rendered tranquil while their mothers laboured in the textile mills of Lancashire.

The old, the sickly and the incapacitated are not neglected. The old "should be allotted to those kinds of occupations which do not bear hard upon them." But, "something they should always have to do, to keep their minds employed, and their bodies in easy activity." Similarly with the invalids, "Though much cannot be

expected of them, yet it is best to keep them at some employment," such as planting and cleaning fences (*ibid.*: 113).

ROUGHLEY's experience was on the large Jamaican sugar estates. Such paternal solicitude and precise management was less likely to be found on small properties, and indeed we do not know to what extent it was actually practised anywhere. We do know that he describes a pattern of labour utilisation which was widespread and continued on plantations using indentured labour after slavery has been abolished. We also know that indentured labour on Guianese plantations received better medical care, crude though it might have been, than did the free labourers who lived in villages. This is reflected in mortality statistics.

This is not the place to review the wide range of economic circumstances which existed after the abolition of slavery. It was unusual for the ex-slaves to be able to constitute themselves into a stable and prosperous "peasantry." Indeed, few of them tried. What they attempted to do was to alter the conditions under which they sold their labour power, and to remove themselves from the control of the plantations. British Guiana saw the most successful movement of slaves into independent villages, but, as WALTER RODNEY (1981) has recently re-emphasized, they did not become "peasants" (see R. T. SMITH 1956, 1962). Like settlements in other parts of the West Indies they were constituted around a christian church with its attendant school, and the villagers, far from withdrawing from creole, colonial society, were drawn ever more closely into it. Legal, christian marriage in the hierarchical system of creole society was a sign of status and it came to be associated with women's cessation from work outside the home. It was a class defined institution, opposed to other forms of union within a system of unions, and so it remains today. Only in this context does "poverty" make any sense as the precipitating cause of non-legal unions.

Of course, women were out of luck in post-emancipation society. They remained actively involved in occupations outside the home, while at the same time losing whatever services were provided by the plantation; services such as day-care for their children, a cook to provide food at work, free medical services and maternity leave. Now they had to work outside *and* take on

domestic responsibilities at home. In view of the history of the West Indies and of women's labour it is remarkable to what extent the very concept of womanhood continues to be bound up with mothering and with the performance of such domestic activities as cooking, washing and cleaning.

ERNA BRODBER (1975), in her study of Kingston yards, has provided some revealing insights into the way in which quite independent women allow men to dominate them. These women rent rooms in yards, into which they admit boy-friends who may or may not contribute significantly to household expenses. They go out of their way to cook attractive food, keep the men's clothes in order, and generally play the role of obedient wife. If there is a TV set it is the man who chooses the programme, even if the woman is paying the rent; if the man wants to sleep after lunch the children are chased away. Although middle class women have "helpers" to do the dirty work, the kitchen and the house remain their domain. One middle class woman told us that her late husband had never been in the kitchen; with a wife, two daughters and a maid he never even brought himself a glass of water.

Ideologically there is a close association between the "inside" domain and activities of women and the "outside" life of men. Both AUSTIN (1974) and DEVEER (1979), in their work in Kingston and May Pen respectively, have shown how deep-seated and pervasive are these ideas about sex-roles. The aspect to which attention is drawn here is the way in which men tend to use income, be it in cash or in kind, to fulfil obligations which are often dispersed over a number of domestic groups. They may give contributions to their own mothers, the mothers of their children, current girl friends and of course to their own wife or common-law wife. Such material as we have on this question shows that lower or working class men may have a remarkable number of claims on their income. In a study carried out among lower class men in Kingston, ANDERSON PARKS (pers. comm.) describes how a delivery van driver with a steady, but not large, income tends to run up debts for such items as stereo equipment, regularly drops off money to pay the rent of a current girl friend, passes by to leave a contribution to the support of an outside child, visits his mother with a gift and eventually arrives home to his wife with a consider-

ably reduced pay-packet, some of which will be kept back to meet his entertainment expenses.

There is no reliable measure of the extent to which this pattern is general, or the extent to which it is confined to the lower class. As usual there is a great deal of variability and one could point to cases where married middle or working class couples pool their resources for the purchase of a house or the education of children. However, our women informants are quite articulate about the propensity of men to "wander"; field materials, some of them going back as far as 1951, confirm that it is quite common for men to disperse resources while women concentrate them. It is easy to devise functional explanations for this flow of resources; it avoids the reliance of any one domestic unit upon a sole source of income which is apt to be cut off in an unstable labour market. Like all functionalist explanations this one fails to explain why this particular solution should have emerged rather than another.

"I feel a woman can control their nature more than a man. I just have that feeling. I mean, a woman will easier be satisfy with one man when a man can't be satisfy with one woman. Right?" (DeVEER 1979: 108). This statement of a male Jamaican could be regarded as a rationalisation of his own behaviour, or as special pleading. It couches the argument in universalistic, "natural" terms, against which moral arguments carry little weight. But West Indians also claim special characteristics, as though nature had singled them out from the rest of mankind.

Cultural assumptions which assign specific characteristics to "West Indian" ways of behaving.

"Jamaicans love a whole lot of woman, you know. Lot of woman, not just one. They don't stick to one, they must have girls outside, that's just the way . . . They love sport [laugh]. Married men, unmarried men, it don't matter." (DeVEER 1979: 150). This happened to be a working class woman, but much the same sentiment can be found at every level of the society.

West Indians do not have a monopoly on polygynous tendencies, nor is it unusual for men to use positions of power to secure access to women. Many young Africans seethe with resentment at the monopolisation of young women by old men; not necessarily

out of sexual frustration, but because access to women is itself a sign of power, prestige and maturity. Nineteenth century European society had a well-documented under-life. The male members of the British Royal family, or some of them, were renowned for their sexual exploits. Karl Marx fathered a bastard son on his domestic servant and Friedrich Engels had a Kep' Miss from the Lancashire working class; it may have shown a democratic impulse, but of course he did not marry her.

The rising divorce rate and the increase in female-headed households in the United States sometimes appears to indicate that they are following in the wake of the West Indies. The appearance is false. There is no loss of faith in the monogamic ideal in the United States, even among that growing number of people for whom the Census Bureau had to devise a new term, POSSLQ, or Person of Opposite Sex Sharing Living Quarters. The rate of re-marriage is exceedingly high. The West Indies are closer to Victorian England than to the egalitarian customs of the modern youth of North America and Europe with their apparent mastery of the techniques of birth control. Certainly the ideology is different; divorce and re-marriage is really a searching for the one, true, right person and is not based upon a notion that monogamic fidelity is impossible.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Social policies which bear directly upon the family are surprisingly uniform in modern bureaucratic societies, and all states, regardless of their level of economic development or the nature of their political system, tend to adopt similar policies (KAMERMAN & KAHN 1977). Cadres of professional "social workers," "family case workers," "probation officers" and the like are to be found everywhere and are increasing in number. They are an integral, and perhaps inevitable, part of the modern state apparatus; that is, the state apparatus which increasingly regulates the lives of its citizens. MICHEL FOUCAULT and his associates have shown how recent is this development (FOUCAULT 1965, 1970, 1973, 1978a, 1978b; DONZELOT 1979). The invention of modern institutions

such as the prison, lunatic asylum, orphanage and workhouse went hand-in-hand with the growth of that scientific approach to planning which so captivated SIMEY. Poverty, marital stress, child neglect, bastardy, and unemployment came to be seen as aspects of "social pathology" to be studied, regulated and (optimistically) cured by rational intervention on the part of paid servants of the state. The ideology of rational intervention continues to motivate social policy in the face of growing scepticism as to its efficacy. Some students regard this bureaucratic apparatus as a part of the regulatory, or police, function of the state, particularly since its clients are the poor and the unruly. Whatever the truth or otherwise of that idea, it is clear that the general trend toward more social intervention in family life is unlikely to diminish, whatever is said here. However, our previous analysis suggests that there are certain aspects of West Indian family structure which are neither pathological nor amenable to cure by concentrating on the poor.

We must agree with SIMEY (1946: 100-101) in his one flash of insight, that "as middle class standards become more widespread in the population the situation will [not] show any tendency toward improvement" in the exploitation of women, though in the interest of neutrality we might re-phrase it to read, "will [not] show any tendency to change." Far from the system showing "looseness," "disorganization" or "disintegration," it appears to be very stable. The dual marriage system is intact. Illegitimacy rates have not fallen significantly. Whether one likes the pattern of West Indian kinship or not, one cannot realistically say that it is disorganized. West Indians have extensive kinship ties, and at all levels of the society kin tend to be supportive, loving and kind — with occasional lapses of course, and allowing for the divisions created by class. It is not that West Indian kinship is weak; it is that it has distinctive patterns which need to be recognised.

These distinctive patterns are not "caused" in any simple way by "poverty." That is not to say that poverty is not a grave social problem in the West Indies; poverty, along with unemployment, underemployment, lack of opportunity and absence of adequate bases for self-respect, must all be addressed by social policy. But these things are not caused by the family system any more than the

family system is caused by them. They are all part of the structure in place, produced by the political economy of the West Indies, by its historical experience and by the manner in which class has been structured in West Indian society.

In the almost forty years since SIMEY wrote *Welfare and Planning in the West Indies* there has been a great deal of change in this region. Most of that change has been in the direction envisaged and advocated by him. The expansion in the size of the middle class, effected by widening educational opportunity and the increase in bureaucratic, service and sales occupations, has been made possible mainly by increases in the export of bauxite and oil, and by the development of the tourist trade. It would have surprised SIMEY to see how little of this increased prosperity has come through agriculture, but he would have been gratified by the growth in local industry to substitute for imports and to provide housing. As is widely recognised, these changes have not altered the basic structure of dependence of the region on the industrialised countries. With the possible exception of Cuba, and the very peculiar case of Guyana, all these developments have been based squarely upon the expansion of the middle class, and upon the extension of middle class aspirations to an ever-widening circle.

It is difficult to imagine any fundamental change in these trends in the immediate future. Social policy seems to incline toward a local form of welfare capitalism. National Insurance schemes for the employed; generous pension, housing, medical and other perquisites for the upper middle class — be they in business, government service, politics or the military — and for such of the rest of the middle and working classes as can bargain for these perquisites; and very little left for the growing numbers of the poor. High rates of population growth coupled with the closing off of migration outlets and the apparent impossibility of economic growth outpacing population growth, seem to guarantee high levels of unemployment, crime and inadequate social services. Under these circumstances it would be unrealistic to expect any drastic change in family structure. For the lower class it is only the mutuality of kinship and community that keeps the very poor afloat at all, and given the continuation, and even the inten-

sification, of class relations it does not seem likely that the dual marriage system will disappear.

It is tempting to attribute present circumstances to "colonialism" or to "slavery" or "the plantation," and a case can be made for each such attribution. An even better case can be made for explaining much of the present difficulty in economic life to the continuing pattern of relations between the developed and underdeveloped parts of the world. But when it comes to family structure the case is somewhat different. When people declare, with some measure of pride, toleration, or amusement that "Jamaica man can't satisfy with one woman" then it does not seem quite fair to blame it all on people like William Montagu, Viscount Mandeville and 5th Duke of Manchester who, as Governor of Jamaica from 1808 to 1827, left more than place names behind him. According to EDWARD BRATHWAITE he had numerous brown-skinned progeny, and at least five of his illegitimate children were at school in Kingston in the 1830s. However, his wife, Lady Susan, daughter of the Duke of Gordon, a great beauty and a woman of independent spirit, had run off with one of her footmen even before he left for the West Indies. Interesting as these historical events undoubtedly are, we must remember that the present day system is being maintained, being reproduced every day, by the actions of independent West Indians exercising their prerogatives of freedom, privilege, dominance and subordination. It is nonsense to say that West Indians cannot afford to marry, that unstable unions and female headed households are an adaptation to poverty and economic insecurity (why that adaptation and not some other and why did East Indians, who were equally poor, not make that adaptation?), and it is nonsense to say that Jamaican men can't satisfy with one woman and must have outside children. All these things are a part of the system as it developed and as it is being maintained.

Repeated attempts have been made to try to swing this system into conformity with the so-called "nuclear family pattern" or "the christian family." More than one hundred and fifty years of intensive persuasion from the pulpits of the churches has had little discernible effect; perhaps the persuasion was directed at the wrong people. Attempts to enforce the bastardy laws have not

been conspicuously successful, especially when the fathers were respectable members of the middle class. There is often a great deal of confusion about what is being aimed at when policy is discussed. The churches have been trying to alter behaviour by expounding a code of christian morals, but a great deal of social policy and legislation is aimed at something different.

One common approach is to try to solve some of the problems of poverty and excessive population by forcing men, as it is said, to "live up to their responsibilities." But even the early census reports, cited by SIMEY, noted that women in stable unions have more children than those in common-law or visiting unions which are short-term, because they are more constantly exposed to the possibility of pregnancy. Population increase will not be checked by getting all women into stable unions, unless there is also an increased use of contraceptives, freely available abortion, or as in India, a policy of paying people to undergo sterilization procedures. India has a family policy in that sense, just as countries which need population increase sometimes pay child allowances.

The problem of poverty will not be solved by getting everyone into nuclear families, unless there is also a vast increase in available income and employment. To get everyone living in nuclear families might well exacerbate the situation — always a risk with any policy. As it is now the working people share a great deal of their income with the really poor in one way or another, though we do not know just how that is accomplished.

In recent years attempts have been made to alter the existing pattern of family structure by legislating away those features deemed undesirable. The new constitution of Guyana has a clause which says that henceforth there shall be no difference between legitimate and illegitimate children. There is as yet no enabling legislation so we do not know just how this is to be accomplished, but Jamaica has laws with the same intention. However, the father has to make proper recognition of an illegitimate child, and even if he does so there is nothing to prevent discrimination against outside children in bequests. Such laws do have limited use in regularising the position of children in inheritance cases where the father's intention is clear, but they will not change the family system unless they are accompanied by procedures for the

establishment of paternity of a degree of severity which seems unlikely to gain acceptance.

Policies which may do most to bring about change in West Indian family life are those which enhance the status and rights of women, to the point where they are not constrained by traditional concepts of their role. Equal pay for equal work, equal job opportunities, adequate day care facilities, freely available abortion under safe and hygienic conditions, and all the things which make it possible for people to choose freely how they will manage their affairs. It is not for the state to dictate how people should behave in their private lives, and one may doubt the degree to which professional intervention should be used in family affairs.

If this long discussion has taught us anything it is that a family system such as that of the West Indies arises in a particular kind of class society with particular kinds of sex roles, and it is unlikely to change until the pattern of class relations changes. Even then there is no guarantee that family and sex roles will immediately be transformed. These are what FERDINAND BRAUDEL calls structures of the *longue durée*. As yet the social sciences have very little idea as to how, and at what rate, they change.

NOTES

1. A much shorter version of this paper was presented as a lecture in memory of Professor CHANDRA JAYAWARDENA, delivered at the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica on March 15th 1982. Although it does not deal with the joint work we carried out, I am happy to acknowledge how much of my thinking on these matters was influenced by him. I am also grateful to those who attended the lecture for their comments, and to Mrs. D. POWELL and the members of the staff of the Department of Sociology, and to Dr. VAUGHAN LEWIS, Director of the Institute of Social and Economic Research, for their kind hospitality.

2. These are all ideas which have surfaced in one way or another in the discussion of poverty in the United States. See for example the remarkable paper by WALTER MILLER (1958) which purports to locate the causes of gang activity and crime in the specifics of a lower class culture made possible by personality characteristics very similar to those described by SIMEY.

3. Most of the material cited in this section is drawn from the results of a series of studies carried out during the late 1960's and the 1970's under the direction of the author, and involving the collaboration of the University of the West Indies and the University of Chicago. I am grateful to the National Science Foundation

and to the Lichtstern Research Fund for the financial support which made most of these studies possible. Fuller accounts of this work will be found in R.T. SMITH 1973, 1978a, 1978b; ALEXANDER 1973, 1976, 1977; AUSTIN 1974, 1979; DEVEER 1979; FISCHER 1974.

4. The material on which the following analysis is based consists not only of the by now voluminous body of census and survey materials, but also of many painstakingly collected genealogies and case studies — family histories really. My assumption is that one can only understand family life if one studies what kinship means to people, and if one is able to comprehend the whole range of individuals' experience. In this research the same individual was interviewed many times, sometimes for as much as 100 hours stretching over many months. Quick surveys have their uses but they yield data very different from those reported here. For each person interviewed we constructed a genealogy; some of them are enormous, containing as many as 800 to 1000 individuals. See R.T. SMITH 1978a, 1978b, and ALEXANDER 1976 for further details.

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LIFE-HISTORY, AND THE PUERTO RICAN CIRCUIT¹

BARRY LEVINE, sociologist editor of *Caribbean Review*, has produced twenty-three chapters relating episodes in the life of a Puerto Rican emigrant, *Benjy López*. In addition to the first-person narrative, the book contains LEVINE's Introduction and an Epilogue that attempts to discuss "the Historical Development of the Puerto Rican Circuit."

In his Introduction, LEVINE attacks the mechanistic concepts of traditional sociology, in which the actor is merely a product of the social world. But his critique tends toward a *reductio ad absurdum*, and fails to offer plausible theoretical alternatives. The author contrasts two polar operational models: the actor as free agent and the actor as determined by society. His difficulties emerge from this unfortunate dichotomy, which limits his ability to consider other logical possibilities — for example, an actor capable of pondering his/her actions and circumstances, but at the same time engaged in an ongoing dialectic of change with the culture and society from which he/she comes.

LEVINE's concern with avoiding facile explanations is laudable, but in so doing it is not necessary to reject *all* social explanation. He could, for example, have made good use of some of the recent advances in information processing, decision-making and other related disciplines (MÅRTENSSON 1979; CARLSTEIN *et al.* 1978; Center for Human Information Processing 1979). Such efforts are directed in part at defining the sphere and compass of human agency. They seek to avoid the linear determinism of both behavioral and voluntarist approaches, while simultaneously considering the restrictions imposed by the social environment.

Social scientists have the task of placing the life of persons in specific situations and contexts, while looking for the "vitality" LEVINE seeks, but avoiding abstraction and naïve forms of cultural relativism. To achieve this, LEVINE's *odium theologicum* towards explanation must be transcended. Social explanation need not suffer from automatic causalism; to strive for understanding is not to be infected with some malefic miasma. After all, LEVINE's Epilogue also attempts to explain, although he ends up with a distorted picture of the Puerto Rican world, one which even carefully omits the term "colonial" (p. 180-199).

Benjy's author seems to have missed a few lessons from others who have collected and utilized life-histories for social science analysis. The first is the importance of the distinction between capturing "the dynamic pulse of life" as a novelist or as a social scientist. While the novelist provides us with instances of the vicissitudes of a life trajectory through time and place, it is done as the artistic expression of an aesthetic canon. The social scientist, on the other hand, strives for understanding through some sort of explanation. As MARINELLO has aptly put it: "The novelist's task is not to explain but to show [*evidenciar*]" (1977: 242). Even though both the novelist and the sociologist can utilize the biographical genre, the boundaries that separate their respective *métiers* are far more defined than LEVINE concedes.

Since both novelist and sociologist can relish the presentation of narratives that are aesthetically pleasing, the difference appears to reside not in their styles, but in their respective goals. Both can also concern themselves with the contexts in which their characters exist — see, for example, CARPENTIER 1967. What distinguishes the social scientist from the artist is the attempt to explain, and the adherence to an explicit method. In the case of biography or testimonial literature, this absolutely requires an elaboration of the process that led to the final text or narrative. Dealing with an empirical reality in the form of a first-person narrative, the social scientist must make public the methods and process that led to it, to allow others the possibility of evaluating and weighing the result (DENZIN 1970: 31). The novelist, even when writing a story based in real events, has no such obligation.

LEVINE presents us with an attractive plot and captures our

attention with the antics of his anti-hero, but for sociology this is not quite sufficient. Rather than producing a book that will — in his words — “celebrate interdisciplinary emphases,” LEVINE seems to have led us into a disciplinary No-Man’s land, halfway between fiction and social science.²

The author’s critique of earlier theories of life-history seems opportune. DOLLARD (1949), for example, though a pioneer in the field, had previously been reassessed largely in terms of the controversies generated by BLUMER (1939), discussing THOMAS & ZNIENICKI’s classic work (1918–20). And there had been little critical discussion of more recent work like LANGNESS (1975), ERIKSON (1975), and LIFTON (1974). However, LEVINE does not ultimately provide us with options that take into consideration the dialectical conception of the process of living in the social world and innovating at the same time. To liberate us from these conceptions, new approaches still need to be developed. (There is some evidence that Europeans are picking up where the Chicago School left us — see BERTAUX 1981, and the continued use of the *pamietniki* in Poland for the last 60 years.)

The second lesson offered by the life-history and biographical literature in the social sciences is summarized by MINTZ (1979), who refers us to two crucial points applicable to both ethnography and life-history. First, the selection of the protagonist’s actions must be “culturally significant.” And second, emphasis must be placed on a careful awareness of the relationship between scientist and informant: observations without an observer are simply an illusion. MINTZ’s first point advances the distinction between mere chance or extraordinary event and the usual/modal way in which social events emerge and follow a course in a given context. This is a particularly crucial issue in the case of emigrants who separate themselves from their past in time and place. That separation does not preclude the fact that their cultural background “continues its manifestation in perception and articulation” (MINTZ 1973); the relative impact of the migrant’s background is central and must be addressed. A final point pertaining to MINTZ’s “lesson” is Benjy’s representativeness. There are certainly many Benjys among Puerto Ricans, just as there are characters like those OSCAR LEWIS made famous through *La Vida* (1966);

however, LEVINE's assertion that Benjy López constitutes "the Puerto Rican personality" is a true *non-sequitur* (see p. xxxii).³

LEVINE also leaves to our imagination the process by which he edited Benjy's narrative into chapter form. For example, was it recorded or partially written by the informant? And in what contexts did the informant prefer to use English or Spanish? Neither are we told much about the relationship between sociologist and informant; the result is that Benjy and his editor become one whenever the reader attempts to understand more than the events reported. In this context, MINTZ's quotation of CONDOMINAS on "*la nécessité d'ethnographier les ethnographes*" takes on special relevance (1979: 22).

A third lesson offered by first-person literature in the social sciences concerns the relevance of cultural themes, and their survival and modification through time and in different contexts. Although Benjy's life-history offers us themes which are intimately linked to his class of origin and to his aspirations, LEVINE makes no use of them, nor does he follow up the leads of scholars working in the fields of anthropology and cognitive psychology (for example, KELLY 1955; AGAR 1980; D'ANDRADE 1981).

Although biography is periodically rediscovered by social scientists, it seems that certain crucial implications of this method have been best assimilated in Europe. The recent special edition of *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie* (69, 1980) provides us with a panoramic view of oral and life-history studies. A decade ago, CARO-BAROJA (1970: 11) also warned us:

If a non-fiction biography [*no novelada*] is to serve any purpose, it is precisely to try to show the insertion of that which is individual and personal into that which is social [*las acciones generales*] . . . as well as to demonstrate how the weight of the general actions, collective and even extra-human, leaving aside for the time being providentialisms and religious fatalism, gravitates on all of us, great and small. The task of biography is as scientific as any other historical endeavor or, if one wishes, as unscientific. It is one of the great humanistic crafts of all times . . .

The several points above illustrate the complexities of interpreting an individual world-view that results from the articulation of supra-individual and strictly personal forces. They are indispensable lessons for a critical appraisal of *Benjy López*.

LEVINE explicitly defines Benjy as a "picaresque" character. In

picaresque literature not all heroes are redeemed; some are prisoners of a double bind, and others are presented as inherently unworthy. In the first case, the character is trapped, and must choose between survival and integrity; in the second case, the character is portrayed as socially determined, in a simplistic sociology which neither LEVINE nor this writer would accept. The authors of picaresque works, from *Lazarillo* and *El Buscón* through *Simplicissimus* and *Moll Flanders*, reveal behind the conventions of a literary genre implicit premises about life. Such literary expressions have characteristically occurred during transitional moments of European history, particularly when bourgeois individualism can be exalted.

The form of the picaresque presents a paradigmatic confrontation between the individual and a hostile society. The narrative is episodic, opened to all sorts of possibilities in which a protagonist belonging to a subordinate social sector tries to survive by utilizing shrewdness, and travels through several social groups (with great attention paid to the transit through the most corrupt sectors of the society in which the *pícaro* lives). To be fair to the *pícaro*, one must acknowledge that he has not always been depicted as a dissimulating conformist, as an unrepentant pessimist, as a cynic or even as an unscrupulous vagabond. The *pícaro* has also emerged as a bearer of moral lessons, serving the purpose of counterposing irreconcilable ideological viewpoints. Beyond all these, the *pícaro* gave great impetus to the myth of the individualism of the dispossessed. Benjy does seem to fit the general tradition of the picaresque; what we must elucidate is LEVINE's presuppositions.

Benjy moves in a world of hypocrisy; he searches for meaning and safety in a society that proclaims sacred traditions while condoning the most degrading actions. He is presented as a person who has come down to a lower station, even though his previous one was not particularly exalted. The son of a small-time sharecropper who attempted to ward off exploitation by vicariously playing landlord, he develops ambivalent feelings towards his father. He grows into a marginal character who does not inherit a place that he can claim as his own, nor a trade or position that would facilitate the elaboration of a coherent life-strategy. Prematurely pushed to fend for himself, he soon discovers the utility of

interpersonal exploitation, losing his innocence under the tutelage of the Armed Forces. Without any resources beyond his natural intelligence and underhanded maneuvering, he is unable fully to cope and attempts, variously, the strategy of serving several masters, inventing multiple statagems, and utilizing innumerable identity masks during a peripatetic life that alternates between good and bad fortune. That is the synthesis of Benjy López; the thread of a picaresque plot is woven.

LEVINE adopts a voluntaristic position to interpret Benjy, but this seems a misguided attempt to avoid dealing with those very values and conceptions learned by Benjy that so often lead him to a no-exit situation. In each of Benjy's efforts there is a paradoxical conformity—for example, when he rebels against military authority, when he mimics the stereotypical Cuban *chulo*, when he briefly becomes a university student, when he turns salesman, and particularly; when he thinks he has outmaneuvered the FBI. Neither LEVINE nor Benjy can escape the quagmire of the "Puerto Rican connection" with its fluidity and abundance of apparent liberties.

LEVINE subtracts verisimilitude from his Benjy López when he compares him to a modern literary anti-hero. For, Benjy is not a contemporary version of Augie March. We cannot disengage him from the cultural tradition from which he comes. The prototype of the "activist" in North American literature that LEVINE would like to apply to Benjy is simply not adequate. Perhaps a better parallel can be established with the rootless adventurers who flourished during the early European conquest of the Americas. Instead of Augie March, we might think of Alonso de Contreras (16th–17th centuries), himself a master of the unfinished enterprise in an enigmatic world. De Contreras, like Benjy, considered himself the mere instrument of an unknown destiny. Lacking all internal discipline, even though acknowledging the control of external forces, he finds sufficient reason to cast away all "respect." (I am not here referring to *respeto* as mere obedience, so common a confusion in Puerto Rican society, as LEVINE perceptively recognizes.) If de Contreras was the adventurer of the Thirty Years' War, Benjy López is the adventurer of the Second Puerto Rican Colony. Both share a parallel destiny, a spiritless

fate. They are frontier men, living simultaneously in two worlds. Being tight-rope walkers, they often fall into what they most desire to avoid. As so often happens between oppressors and oppressed, they engage in a duel of reciprocal dehumanization. If de Contreras' preferred strategy was reaction, Benjy's is rebelliousness. Neither are revolutionaries. Being rebels, they have a cause; nevertheless, they fail to turn their resentment into redemption and, thus, remain at the level of individualism. Pained by their bad luck, they personify in the long run the prototype of the petit-bourgeois. Adventurers from the start, they lack the gift of foresight and imagination so well implied in the Spanish term *visionario*. ORTEGA Y GASSET (1967:30), that great bourgeois who resented anything small-minded in his class, wrote of de Contreras:

The vocation of the adventurer is paradoxical: it is the vocation of having no vocation. [His] life is [for him] hiding and fleeing [*a salto de mata*], an epic made only of episodes. Threads of existence that form not a stance. Almost daily, they move into one life only to be reborn to another [His life is] made up of disconnected fragments of twenty different heroes. Hence, he is always starting and always finishing.

Benjy and de Contreras suffer from the atrophy of their reflective capacities in spite of the fact that both have conversant familiarity with the literary works of their times. Their adolescent ruminations may simultaneously lack self-restraint and achieve profundity. Unpremeditated action leads them to all sorts of encounters — they act first, and only later attempt to figure out what has happened. We can concur with LEVINE when he says that Benjy lives by “wit, will and words” (p. xxi; the translation into Spanish is less glamorous: *ingenio, voluntarioso albedrío y palabrería*). Both, as POPE (1974: 153) claims of the Contreras,

respond to the pivotal forces of the times: the power of the empire along with the economic chaos which advances as defense for the individual, pride, the pleasure for travel and adventure and the inheritance of principle . . . in conflict with the modern state.

The fact that both figures emerged in moments of acute transition is also worth noting.

LEVINE suggests that “losers” are not good subjects for biography. The implications of this proposal are troubling. To identify “winners” or “success stories” we would need to bring to

our studies conceptual baggage much more weighty than a pad and pencil. And we always run the risk of defining winners and losers in conformity with the criteria of the dominant sectors of the society. LEVINE does not contemplate this because he does not elaborate an analysis of the class structure and ideologies within which Benjy contrives his plots. It is from a particular ideological position that Benjy is able to conclude that he is a winner. LAURIA (1980: 298), describing Puerto Rican transformations and class situations, has pointed toward the need to address

the form in which the subordinate sectors not only continue elaborating cultural elements of their past trajectory, but also how they make use of elements imposed by the dominant sectors which are re-elaborated according to their class needs . . . We maintain that the petit-bourgeoisie still maintains its presence in Puerto Rico — particularly at the level of the ideology of daily life praxis of the popular classes in the diverse forms of their aspirations, tastes, values, self-images, patterns of interaction and manipulations at home, in the streets, the neighborhoods and the work places.

Benjy's family and class background can help us to understand his actions (though LEVINE might not be sympathetic to this idea), particularly where his oscillations intersect with conformity — see, for example, p. 7–8 on his early life; p. 144, where he expresses his opinions on working conditions; or p. 145, where he moralizes about police corruption in New York. His use of the theme of *respeto* is very much congruent with the “conforming” sectors of the Puerto Rican population.

Just as QUINTERO-RIVERA (1979) has described for sectors of the popular classes in Puerto Rico, Benjy develops a pragmatic philosophy that blurs his praxis (“... everything finally gets down to economics” [p. 133]). His recurrent preference for cunning and his “ingratiatory agility” (*agilidad congraciante*, a term LAURIA has used to describe that strategy [1980: 304]), is clearly linked to a rigid social stratification. His scorn for the *Gringo* officers and his resistance to military regimentation lead him to fleeting insights: “I used to listen to a lot of guys . . . talking about de Hostos, about Puerto Rico, against the yankees and stuff like that . . . I began to have other thoughts too, to hate the United States” (p. 33). Nevertheless, he tries to solve the increasing conflict by drinking: “I started to get drunk, and drunk and drunk” (p. 33). Only fleeting rebelliousness, really. His wish is to escape, to get out, but

he knows not where. In those moments of confusion he is entranced by the colonial illusion that paves North American streets with gold. His insular and colonial vision persists: he is overwhelmed upon seeing the vastness of the Mississippi (p. 37). It would be too easy to conclude that his attitude toward North America is a simple identification with the aggressor. It is undoubtedly something more complex, though possessing some element of that mechanism of defense.

His last recourse is to continue his career of marginality. Before being taken as a colonial to the European war front, Benjy says: "I was both anti-Puerto Rican and anti-American. I didn't want to go back to Puerto Rico but I didn't think I should go and fight" (p. 57). Or when he contrasts his background with what he perceives as the effect of migration: "But we were different. With us there was a difference in culture, behavior and upbringing . . . Maybe their minds [referring to fellow migrants] got so, I don't say corrupted, but broken down by the economic situation" (p. 67). His ambivalence toward the values of his tradition is expressed in multiple passages: "I was brought up — in spite of everything — to respect human beings" (p. 57). The tension of the still unresolved conflict between class and nation appears throughout his narrative, especially when he is faced with issues of ethnic and class identity.

It is in this tension that we may find the key to understanding Benjy López. BONILLA (1980: 161), evaluating the biography of another Puerto Rican emigrant, reminds us:

With the *Memorias de Bernardo Vega* we have another example, a very well-documented one, of Puerto Rican proletarian consciousness, of a clear vision of a class united both at the level of patriotic feeling as well as with an internationalist disposition and action that are firm and consistent.

When we contrast Benjy López with Bernardo Vega (ANDREÚ IGLESIAS 1977), with Taso (MINTZ 1960) or with the journalistic memoirs of JESÚS COLÓN (1975), his is a pathetic profile. (It should be noted that LEVINE does not acknowledge Vega's memoir, rejects Taso's life simply because of his religious conversion to Protestantism, and does not bother to mention COLÓN's work as a committed marxist in New York). Bernardo Vega achieves resolution of the antinomy class-nation, while Benjy López only

adopts an old chauvinistic cliché which refers to the "nostalgia of a long-lost happiness." In Benjy, to refer again to BONILLA (1980: 163) regarding the Puerto Rican diaspora:

National and class struggles are intermixed through time and space in a most dynamic framework. In summary, the most pessimistic expectations on the capacity of penetration of bourgeois ideology among the working class are fulfilled, as well as the variety of situations in which this class would pointlessly sacrifice its own interests in the name of the nation or in exchange for modest reforms.

Benjy López must be taken seriously by social scientists, even though we might not support the particular brand of first-person sociology LEVINE espouses. He represents new expressions of the old class divisions in Puerto Rican society which JOSÉ LUIS GONZÁLEZ has interpreted in his *El país de los cuatro pisos* (1980). Benjy rejects his popular origin and ends up identifying with the ideology of the dominant classes of our agrarian tradition; he embraces that which he considers to be closest to the seignorial style of by-gone days: "I had five top coats, \$150 top coats" (p. 110). When he meets the racial issue, with all the multiple nuances of both his worlds, he turns cynical and loses the opportunity of opening up to solidarity. He even justifies racism, as seen in his reflections on Texas (p. 173).

According to LEVINE, emigration has "modernized" Benjy; he can now feel equal to those characters idealized in our society (see p. 119-120). Upon his return to the island, he ends up accomodating to his rediscovered colony and adopts what he perceives to be the best kind of respectability. In a revisionist turn, he reflects on his early escapades: "... but never was Puerto Rico this bad," he tells us when he remembers his past. After flirting with the pro-independence leaders as a proof of his recently acquired "equality," and leaving his FBI dossier in order, he adopts the role of successful return-migrant and prodigal son. Cleansed of old inequalities, he shares the colonial illusion of power. In Benjy's mind, the illusion is real: he even feels himself to be Nelson Rockefeller's equal.

In his own words: "I am a fuckin' internationalist, who's been splashed" (p. 185). Just like Moll Flanders, Benjy abandons the strict idealization of "important" personages by becoming one of them.

Benjy, inadvertently, also tells us something about LEVINE.

NOTES

1. A Spanish version of this essay appears in *Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 22 (1-2): 187-197 (1980). All translations of Spanish quotations are my own responsibility.
2. An example of contrasting results are BARNET's two testimonial works: *La Canción de Rachel* (1970), a testimonial-novel which reminds us of LEWIS' method, and his non-fictionalized *Biografía de un Cimarrón* (1968). In the first, the hybrid form entertains and liberates a kind of prose but contributes little to a sociological understanding of Cuban society. In contrast, the second, hardly elaborated beyond the ex-slave's narrative, will maintain a significant place in contributing to an understanding of *marronage* and slavery in the Caribbean.
3. This does not seem to have been the goal of most life-histories of Puerto Ricans, including that by LEWIS, whose objective was to advance his concept of the "culture of poverty." See also MINTZ 1960; SHEEHAN 1976; RETTIG *et al.* 1977; RANDALL 1979; or even the earliest document collected in 1690 by SIGÜENZA Y GÓNGORA (1967).

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JAN VOORHOEVE, 1923-1983

As this issue of the NWIG was going to press, we received word of Jan Voorhoeve's sudden death in Paris on January 30, 1983.

VOORHOEVE was born in Djombang, Indonesia in 1923. He studied Dutch, with secondary specializations in Spanish linguistics and the sociology of Suriname, and in 1953 received his doctorate in Amsterdam, with a dissertation on Sranan-tongo. Between 1956 and 1961, he lived in Suriname, where he conducted studies of several languages. He then spent two years in Cameroon, studying two semi-Bantu languages. In 1964, he joined the faculty of Leiden University, where he became Professor of African Languages in 1967.

VOORHOEVE's death is a deep and tragic loss for linguists, Caribbeanists and Africanists throughout the world. We will sorely miss his contributions as an editor for this journal; we have lost a very special friend and colleague.

THE EDITORS

LIJST VAN BESPROKEN PUBLICATIES

IN JRG. 40-55, 1960-1981

De namen van de besprekers staan tussen haakjes.

BOOKS REVIEWED, 1960-1981

Reviewers' names appear in parentheses.

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LIJST VAN TREFWOORDEN

VOOR JRG. 40-55, 1960-1981

KEY WORDS, 1960-1981

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- aardewerk*, archeologie Sur.; 49, p. 129 (Bubberman); 53, p. 21 (Boomert).
- acculturatie*, historische aantekeningen; 40, p. 201 (de la Try Ellis).
- AFAKA-schrift*, bosnegers, Sur.; 40, p. 63 (Gonggryp); 42, p. 213 (Gonggryp & Dubelaar); 46, p. 232 (Dubelaar & Gonggryp); 47, p. 294 (Dubelaar).
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- alcoholisme* op Aruba; 50, p. 89 (Wever).
- aluminium*, bauxietontginning, Sur.; 48, p. 1 (Westermann).
- Anguilla*, Cariben in historische periode; 54, p. 108 (Wojciechowski).
- antieke flessen* in Suriname; 45, p. 121 (Klein).
- anthropologie*, indiaans skelet van Bonaire; 54, p. 229 (Tacoma).
- anthropologie*, schedeldeformatie in Aruba; 43, p. 211 (Tacoma).
- Antigua*, Cariben in historische periode; 54, p. 108 (Wojciechowski).
- Arawakken* van W.I. eilanden in historische periode; 54, p. 108 (Wojciechowski).
- arbeidsgeschillen* op Curaçao; 55, p. 138 (Römer).
- archeologie*, zie ook: *aardewerk*, *archeologisch onderzoek* en *rotstekeningen*.
- archeologie*, indiaanse schedels van Aruba; 43, p. 211 (Tacoma).
- archeologie*, indiaans skelet van Bonaire; 54, p. 229 (Tacoma).
- archeologie*, Sipaliwini savanne, Sur./Braz.; 49, p. 129 (Bubberman); 54, p. 94 (Boomert).
- archeologie*, stenen beeldje uit Suriname; 53, p. 21 (Boomert).
- archeologie*, stenen kraal uit Suriname; 42, p. 255 (Feriz).
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HERMAN WEKKER

APHRA BEHN AND THE ROYAL SLAVE OROONOKO

The passionate shepherdess. MAUREEN DUFFY. London: Jonathan Cape, 1977. 324 pp. (Cloth £ 7.50)

Reconstructing Aphra: a social biography of Aphra Behn. ANGELINE GOREAU. London: Oxford University Press and New York: Dial Press, 1980. 339 pp. (Cloth US\$ 14.95)

INTRODUCTION

The question of whether the 17th-century English novelist and playwright APHRA BEHN (1640–1689) ever visited Suriname, and whether her novel *Oroonoko: or, The Royal Slave. A True History* is based on her own experiences in that country, has exercised the minds of numerous writers. In the course of time both negative and positive answers have been given, and the matter has given rise to heated controversy among literary historians. Although it now seems probable that APHRA BEHN spent some time in Suriname and that her novel *Oroonoko* is not pure fiction, there are still many questions to be answered concerning this remarkable woman. Unfortunately, the two recent biographies under review leave many of them unresolved.

The inaugural volume of this journal (then called *De West-Indische Gids*) included both a full translation of *Oroonoko* into Dutch and a short biographical article by H.D. BENJAMINS (1919) which pointed to its importance for the literary history of Suriname: "*Oroonoko* is the oldest romantic story that has Suriname as its setting." In a subsequent volume of the journal, in reaction to two pamphlets written by the American professor ERNEST BERN-

BAUM (1913a, b), BENJAMINS discussed more fully the problem of APHRA BEHN's visit to Suriname and the authenticity of *Oroonoko* (1920). Although BERNBAUM argued that BEHN had not been to Suriname and BENJAMINS that she had, neither one presented very strong evidence for his case. BERNBAUM asserted that *Oroonoko* was fiction from beginning to end. BENJAMINS, on the other hand, tried to show that BEHN must have been in Suriname for some time and that her novel must have been based at least in part on her own experiences, but that the already exotic facts of life in that colony were rendered even more colourful and romantic in her writing. In 1927, BENJAMINS took up the debate once again and raised questions about the identity of APHRA BEHN's father, his appointment to lieutenant-general of governor of Suriname, his relations to Lord Willoughby, and so forth.

APHRA BEHN has also drawn the attention of feminist writers. One of them was the English suffragette VITA SACKVILLE-WEST, whose booklet, *Aphra Behn, the incomparable Astrea* (1927), appeared in the series Representative Women, published in London. She was one of the few writers on BEHN who was acquainted with BENJAMINS' three articles in the *West-Indische Gids*, and she was even more committed than he in discrediting BERNBAUM's arguments. Both BENJAMINS and SACKVILLE-WEST conceded that APHRA BEHN probably made use of GEORGE WARREN's *Impartial description of Surinam* (1667). But they both also argue most persuasively that, in spite of his detailed and clever analysis, BERNBAUM is wrong to be so sceptical of the authenticity of APHRA BEHN's picture of life in that colony.

In *The history of the English novel* (1929), ERNEST BAKER also found BEHN's description of 17th-century Suriname unconvincing. BAKER regarded as historically unreliable the biographical facts about BEHN — in particular the dates of her (presumed) stay in Suriname, the dates of her return to England and the dates of her mission to Antwerp as a spy of Charles II. A recent book by FREDERICK LINK (1968), however, concludes that in all likelihood BEHN came to Suriname at the end of 1663 and left the country before March 1664. (See also PLATT 1934, HAHN 1951, FELHOEN KRAAL 1951, and CAMERON 1961.)

WHO WAS APHRA BEHN?

According to DUFFY, APHRA BEHN was born in 1640 as EAFFRY JOHNSON in or near Canterbury, and was christened on the 14th of December, 1640, in Harbledown, a hamlet not far from Canterbury. She grew up during the English Civil War, which brought Oliver Cromwell to power as Lord Protector, and was 19 years old when, in 1660, the monarchy was restored in England with the coronation of Charles II. She must have been in her early twenties when she went to Suriname. There she became acquainted with the Negro slave OROONOKO, who was also called CAESAR, and his lover IMOINDA. In Suriname she also met the Englishman WILLIAM SCOT. On her return to England she married a man named BEHN, who died of the plague shortly afterwards. She was sent to Antwerp as a spy by Charles II in connection with the Anglo-Dutch Wars, to inform him about the activities of exiles in the Low Countries. In Antwerp she again met WILLIAM SCOT, who was also a spy. On her return to England, she was imprisoned briefly because of debt. After that, she began to write poems, novels and plays in order to make a living. There are many different opinions about her literary merits, but it seems certain that she was the first woman to support herself by writing. Her most important plays are *The Forc'd Marriage* (1670), *The Dutch Lover* (1673), *The Rover* (1677) and *The Roundheads* (1682). Slightly less famous than *Oroonoko* (1688) is her novel *The Fair Jilt* (1688). BEHN died on April 16, 1689 and was buried in the Poets' Corner of Westminster Abby in London.

An extensive mythology surrounds the life of APHRA BEHN, and a number of oft-heard statements about her are probably untrue; I cite just five.

(1) *Aphra Behn's maiden name was Amis, and she was born in the town of Wye in July 1640.* This erroneous information seems to have originated in the historical confusion of APHRA BEHN with a woman named APHRA BEANE, a contemporary from the same district whose name was APHRA AMIS during a previous marriage.

(2) *Aphra Behn's father was a lieutenant-general of Suriname.* There is no evidence that APHRA BEHN's father, BARTHOLOMEW JOHNSON from Harbledown (Kent), had this position. It is possible that APHRA's mother remarried after her husband's death and that APHRA went to Suriname in 1663 with her mother and stepfather, or that she left for the West Indies with her stepfather and stepmother after the death of both her parents. In either case, however, her (step) father seems to have died during the voyage to Suriname.

(3) *During the Restoration Aphra Behn and her lover William Scot fled to Suriname.* WILLIAM SCOT was the son of the regicide Thomas Scot, who was condemned to death for his part in the murder of Charles I. William had a brother, Major Richard, who was a planter in Suriname about 1662. After the execution of his father, WILLIAM SCOT traveled to Suriname and it was apparently there that he met APHRA BEHN (then APHRA JOHNSON).

(4) *Aphra Behn was in Suriname in 1665-1666.* The more probable dates of her stay are August 1663 — February 1664.

(5) *Alphra Ben was married to a Dutchman named Behn.* She was apparently a widow in August 1666 after less than two years of marriage. There are indications that her husband was either an Englishman, RICHARD BEN, who died of the plague in 1665, or a German named JOHN BEHN.

OROONOKO: OR, THE ROYAL SLAVE (1688)

Oroonoko is the tragic story of a young black prince, the grandson and heir of an old African king, who is described by BEHN as a "noble savage." The story starts in Coromantien in West Africa, where Prince Oroonoko falls in love with Imoinda, the beautiful daughter of a general. However, she is a concubine of the old king, who becomes enraged when he finds out about Imoinda's unfaithfulness to him and decides to sell her as a slave. Meanwhile, Oroonoko has been captured by an English slave-trader and has been brought to Suriname. There he happens to meet Imoinda

again after some time, but the reunion of the two lovers is short-lived. Oroonoko leads a slave revolt and, for fear that Imoinda will fall into the slave-traders' hands, he kills her. He fails in an attempt to take his own life, but is later caught by the slave-drivers of Governor William Byam and brutally killed.

Critics have found *Oroonoko* remarkable for its time, especially because of the evident sympathy for the oppressed Negroes; it is this novel that introduces the image of the Negro as a "noble savage" into literature. LICHTVELD & VOORHOEVE (1958: 236) point to *Oroonoko* as an early example of the naturalistic movement which became popular in Europe under the influence of Rousseau, and which viewed civilization as the root of all evil. Some have called *Oroonoko* the first emancipation novel, but others doubt whether BEHN herself had the emancipation of Negro slaves in mind when she wrote the story. In either case, the story appealed to many in those days and must have contributed to the public's understanding of the situation of Negro slaves in the colonies.

Oroonoko was translated into both German and French in the 18th century and has been brought out in many editions. THOMAS SOUTHERNE (1659-1746) wrote a play about the story which was first performed in 1695 and was a great success in London.

THE PASSIONATE SHEPHERDESS

MAUREEN DUFFY's biography, *The passionate shepherdess*, contains a conveniently arranged and quite complete description of the life and works of APHRA BEHN, which is based on thorough research in English libraries, archives and church registers. DUFFY reveals a number of previously unknown facts and, in my view, succeeds in putting an end to some of the more sensational myths about APHRA BEHN. She argues that BEHN has been ignored or underestimated by many generations of critics, mainly because of her unconventional style of living and her outspokenness on political and social issues.

The new facts that DUFFY reveals refer mainly to BEHN's background, her early years and her stay in Suriname. From APHRA

BEHN's private correspondence and that of several Englishmen who lived in Suriname at the time, DUFFY concludes that her father (a relative of Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham, who served as captain-general of Suriname) died during the voyage to the New World and that in 1663 APHRA arrived in the colony with her mother, her sister, a maid-servant and her younger brother. In Suriname, according to *Oroonoko*, the company "was offered the best house in the country . . . it was called St. John's Hill," and other sources confirm the presence of "the Ladeyes" on that plantation. *Oroonoko* also contains references to historical figures such as William Byam (an old friend of Willoughby's, who was appointed lieutenant-general of Suriname in the second half of 1663 after having served as governor since 1654), a man named Banister, another named John Trefry and another named George Marten. Trefry plays an especially important part in *Oroonoko* as the sympathetic overseer of Lord Willoughby's plantation, Parham. DUFFY argues most persuasively that APHRA BEHN would have to have been in Suriname in order to obtain such information for *Oroonoko*, since it was not available from any other source. Whether *Oroonoko* and Imoinda indeed existed and really experienced all that APHRA BEHN describes would be more difficult to determine, and remains an unanswered question in DUFFY's book.

It is clear from her book that DUFFY is a novelist, not a professional historian, and that at some points she should have dug more deeply for her facts. Although DUFFY contacted several persons in Suriname and in Holland, she writes that her inquiries produced little or no useful information, and she herself never conducted research in either country. I am convinced that there is interesting material that might have thrown further light on some aspects of BEHN's life and that further research on her stay in Suriname, based on source material in Suriname and Holland, might be most fruitful.

RECONSTRUCTING APHRA

GOREAU's book is quite different from DUFFY's, in that its primary

goal is to show that APHRA BEHN was the first female writer in England who earned her livelihood from her pen. *Reconstructing Aphra* is first and foremost a "social biography." Unfortunately, GOREAU's book adds very little to what we know about APHRA BEHN from other sources. GOREAU refers only casually to DUFFY's book; one wonders whether she was unpleasantly surprised at its publication, for she takes into account very few of its findings.

Like DUFFY, GOREAU is a professional writer, and the result is that the scientific level of *Reconstructing Aphra* leaves much to be desired. It does, however, contain splendid pictures, and the extensive quotes from APHRA BEHN's work, mainly from the prefaces to her plays, give us real insights into the history of the emancipation of women during the 17th century.

I will not go into the numerous inaccuracies and blunders which can be found in *Reconstructing Aphra*, or into the feminist propanganda in which GOREAU indulges; these have already received comment in BROPHY's critical review of the book (1981).

CONCLUSION

It is striking that GOREAU and DUFFY have (probably shortly after one another) consulted some of the same sources in English libraries and archives, for many of the same quotes and references are given in the two books. Neither DUFFY nor GOREAU seems to be aware, however, of the very useful research which BENJAMINS did — perhaps because it was published in Dutch. For example, DUFFY produces some "discoveries" (e.g., William Yearworth's letter about "The Ladeyes" of St. John's Hill) which had already been pointed out by BENJAMINS.

The recent publication of two biographies of APHRA BEHN has again raised the question of whether this writer was ever in Suriname and whether her novel *Oroonoko* is based on her own experiences in that colony. The two books are of rather different style and quality. DUFFY's is better documented and its style is more sober than GOREAU's. Both books, however, are works of non-professional researchers, and that is most noticeable in GOREAU's book. DUFFY manages to give a convincing answer to a

number of questions about APHRA BEHN, but she too fails to answer many other questions. There is still much research to be done in order to discover the insights that APHRA BEHN's life might hold for our understanding of social life in 17th-century Suriname.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Comparative Afro-American: an historical-comparative study of English-based Afro-American dialects of the New World. MERVYN C. ALLEYNE. Foreword by IAN F. HANCOCK. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, 1980. xiii + 253 pp. (Paper US\$ 12.50)

Comparative Afro-American is a stimulating, well-produced book. MERVYN ALLEYNE writes with clarity and conviction and, considering his subject matter, with surprisingly little prejudice or rancour. This is a book that synthesises data and theory, that is often provocative but never boring and that will offer information and enlightenment to any reader who has ever been involved in teaching people who use, or have been influenced by, Atlantic pidgins and creoles.

In *Comparative Afro-American*, ALLEYNE attempts to explore the English-based creoles [*i.e.* the creoles which derive most of their vocabulary from English] of the Atlantic in much the same way as GOODMAN (1964) did when he compared and contrasted French-based creoles. To a large extent, ALLEYNE achieves this end for the creoles of Suriname, Guyanese Creolese, Jamaican and Sierra Leone Krio, but he does much more. By illustrating and emphasising the African input in all creoles arising from plantation colonies in the New World, ALLEYNE invites the reader to see the similarities in culture as well as in language between all Afro-American communities, irrespective of the language of the colonisers.

Comparative Afro-American has seven chapters, the first four dealing with the comparative method, with comparative phonology, syntax and lexicosemantics; the fifth with creole language studies generally; the sixth and longest with 'The African Base'; and the seventh with 'Intermediate Varieties.' The book begins with an excellent introductory overview by IAN HANCOCK, and includes two useful maps, a good bibliography, fifteen pages of notes and a brief conclusion. The only item to cause confusion is the author's nationality! He is referred to as a Trinidadian on p. ix and as 'a native of Jamaica' on the cover. But, whatever his nationality, ALLEYNE writes with conviction and authority on every creole to which he refers.

In his Introduction, ALLEYNE emphasises the strong cultural and linguistic affinities between Afro-Americans and West Africans. He insists that creole languages should not be seen as linguistic sports but examined within the framework of cultural contact, contact in which influences work both ways. To illustrate his claim of strong, albeit neglected, influence from West Africa on

Afro-Americans, ALLEYNE selects six creoles, namely Ndjuka, Saramaccan, Sranan (all from Suriname), Krio, Jamaican and Gullah, with all of which he is personally familiar. I am not particularly happy about his inclusion of Krio, the creole lingua franca of Sierra Leone, as an exemplar of Afro-American speech. True, it shares many of the linguistic characteristics of other Atlantic pidgins and creoles, but it is not absolutely comparable with the other five creoles. First of all, we cannot assume that Krio emerged at the same time, "namely, the sixteenth and seventeenth century" (p. 21), or under the same type of New World plantation system. The known facts about Krio's origins are clearly set out in HANCOCK's review article (1981), in which he shows that a variety of coastal Afro-English, very closely related to modern Krio, predated the settlement of manumitted slaves in Freetown. And secondly, the potential for renewed West African influence on Krio was infinitely greater than for the New World creoles. Nevertheless, even if we discount Krio, ALLEYNE's evidence reinforces the lesson that creolists have taught other linguists — that languages can and do possess elements derived from more than one source, and that for some languages it is impossible to offer a unique genetic classification.

Chapters 1 through 4 offer a telling inventory of comparisons between West African languages and Afro-American speech forms, comparisons that include an examination of phonetic inventories, vowel harmony, tone and the interaction of tense and aspect in the verb phrase, as well as a section on vocabulary which claims that the Afro-American lexicons and the semantic structures underlying them are the result, not of simplification processes, but "of substitution, massive and rapid. . . , of West African lexemes by English . . . lexemes" (p. 109). While I agree, in principle, with ALLEYNE's claim that West African languages have left an indelible imprint on Atlantic pidgins and creoles, I feel that he occasionally overstates his case. Many of the features he lists do occur in West African languages and in Afro-American creoles, but many also occur in Tok Pisin, the pidginised English of Papua New Guinea as well as in the Papuan vernaculars. Among such shared features are a preference for CVCV patterns, a five or seven vowel system, nasalisation of vowels particularly in the vicinity of nasal consonants, some vowel harmony, an unmarked verb form with tense and aspect being indicated by separate morphemes, verb serialisation, reduplication, marking of plurality by the use of the third person plural pronoun and the tendency to mark sex and generation overtly. Thus in Krio we have *man pikin dog* for 'male pup' and *pikinini man dok* in Tok Pisin. Such similarities do not negate ALLEYNE's claims, but they emphasise the fact that, while many of the features in Afro-American creoles derive from West African languages, some are the result of pidginization processes and others are due to shared features in the contacting languages.

ALLEYNE's book splits naturally into two parts, the first four chapters comparative and data-based, and the last three descriptive and speculative. Chapter 5 on "Creole Language Studies" adds little to our knowledge of the subject although its emphasis on the difficulty inherent in defining such concepts as 'pidgins', 'creoles', 'simplification' and 'expansion' is salutary. The two final chapters, however — "The African Base" and "Intermediate Varieties" — contain much that is of value. In chapter 6, for example, there is a very original section (p. 154ff) on the possibility that Afro-American items such as *alata* (rat), *alen* (rain) and *aboma* (boa constrictor) may show vestiges of a noun class system characteristic of the Niger-Congo family of languages. And Chapter 7, which could easily have been the subject of a book in its own right, does well to remind

readers that intermediate varieties are not the exclusive property of decreolization, but may be considered as stages "in a process of language shift under extremes of communicative stress" (p. 182).

Comparative Afro-American goes a long way towards refuting the view that the main linguistic input into Atlantic pidgins and creoles was from the language of the colonisers. It illustrates clearly the all-pervasive influence of West African languages on Afro-American varieties of English and is hopeful that they will not be eradicated but will be used increasingly as a vehicle for the Afro-American experience which they were created to enshrine.

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Black time: fiction of Africa, the Caribbean, and the United States.
BONNIE J. BARTHOLD. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981. x + 209 pp. (Cloth US\$ 20.00)

This book makes a substantial contribution to the field because of its theoretical focus and its unique comparative approach. Unlike earlier studies by JANHEINZ JAHN, which were purely historical, or that of G.R. COULTHARD, which compares several New World literatures, BARTHOLD's book situates black fiction in a broader literary and cultural context.

BARTHOLD's basic premise is that, for a variety of reasons, certain themes recur in the literature written by blacks in the English-speaking world on both sides of the Atlantic. She then goes on to explain why this is so, even though there are obvious cultural differences between traditional and contemporary West Africa, and between Africa and the New World.

The book is divided into three parts. The first, entitled "The Historical Background," traces the development of two opposing attitudes toward time in modern black fiction. Cyclic time, characteristic of traditional Africa, and linear time, characteristic of Western civilization, coexist in the texts that BARTHOLD analyzes. She relates this literary phenomenon to the black cultural experience by showing how historical circumstances, such as colonialism and slavery, affected the conceptualization of time in black societies.

The second section of the book discusses how the duality between cyclic and linear time affects narrative theme and structure. Basing her analysis on classics such as WOLE SOYINKA's *The Interpreters*, ORLANDO PATTERSON's *The Children of*

Sisyphus and RALPH ELLISON's *Invisible Man*, the author explains why the characters' movements toward a freely chosen future do not represent progress but merely a repetition of previous stages of their existence. BARTHOLD also attributes the use of the multiple point of view in black fiction to the gap between the characters' desire for a new beginning and their exile from historical time.

In the third section of the book, BARTHOLD examines one representative novel by each of seven writers — ACHEBE, LAMMING, TOOMER, ATTAWAY, ARMAH, MORRISON and SOYINKA. In each case, the discussion focuses on the characters' struggle to effect a balance between their inner sense of time and the social concept of time that prevails in their respective worlds. In BARTHOLD's view, what is common to all seven works is the characters' futile attempt to overcome the fragmentation of their lives and to insert themselves in a living historical tradition. Her conclusion is that the characters' struggle parallels the larger social struggle of blacks who are caught between the mythic continuity of the African past and the linear fragmentation of the Euro-American present.

While much of the material in *Black time* is familiar to students of black literature, BARTHOLD provides a stimulating reinterpretation of her sources by examining the literature as a cultural and philosophical product rather than as an isolated aesthetic phenomenon. At times, the author's complex sentence structure makes it difficult for the reader to follow her train of thought. A case in point is the following sentence that refers to GAYL JONES's *Corregidora* and ALICE WALKER's *Meridian*: "In these books complexity of character precludes the type and lends to celebration an unflinching willingness to face the contingencies of black time, not only in the world but in the female self" (p. 124-25). However, by examining a neglected aspect of black fiction within black literary history and within the larger British and American tradition, BARTHOLD succeeds in providing a coherent new reading of several novels that before were alternately praised and blamed for their artistic form and their social content.

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The abolition of the Atlantic slave trade. DAVID ELTIS & JAMES WALVIN (eds.) with the collaboration of SVEND E. GREEN-PEDERSEN. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981. xiii + 300 pp. (Cloth US\$ 22.50)

Research on the Atlantic slave trade has been greatly furthered by a series of international conferences held in Rochester (New York), Copenhagen (Denmark), Colby (Maine), New York (New York), and Aarhus (Denmark), each of which has resulted in a book. The present book is a compilation of the papers presented at Aarhus in 1978.

The book incorporates fifteen papers, divided into four themes, introduced skillfully by STANLEY ENGERMAN. Most of the writers are familiar contributors to previous symposia, further examining topics on which they are established authorities. Such compilations are notably uneven; in this instance the United States, the Iberian nations, and Latin America are virtually neglected. There is

but one chapter on France, a major slaving nation; perhaps reflecting the locus of the conference, there are two on the minor nation, Denmark. West Africa, the main source for the Atlantic slave trade, is considered in only two of its minor areas — Senegambia and the Gold Coast — and an essay on imported monies.

"Abolition and the European Metropolis" is the heading of the book's first section. The section actually is an anomaly because it deals not with the book's theme, the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade, but with emancipation of slaves by Great Britain. HOWARD TEMPERLEY, in a paper on the ideology of antislavery, asserts that the attack on slavery was the outgrowth of free labor societies, such as those in Great Britain and the United States, where there existed "an already widely held belief that their nations were the custodians of certain values which distinguished them from other nations" (p. 33). This leaves one wondering about emancipation in Haiti, through violence, and in Latin America, as a consequence of the wars of liberation.

Pursuing a second major theme — the broad base of antislavery — ROGER ANSTEY explores theological foundations for the movement, describes the missionary activity in the West Indies, especially of the Methodists, and points to popular pressure for emancipation by 1832. Surveying the public campaign against slavery over the years 1787–1834, JAMES WALVIN discerns a widening support for antislavery, from the petition movement of the late 18th century, through the struggle for slave registration, on to new sources of support such as slave insurrection and economic arguments, reaching its full vigor after 1832. Taken together, the three papers illuminate the broad base and the fervor of the antislavery movement in the United Kingdom.

Section Two of the book, "The Impact of Abolition on Africa," opens with an essay by PHILIP D. CURTIN on "The Abolition of the Slave Trade from Senegambia." Of the high quality we are accustomed to expect from CURTIN's scholarship, the essay examines such themes as the rise of legitimate trade, the persistence of the slave trade within Africa, and the diversion of incomes within Senegambia, coming to the conclusion that "the end of the slave trade was not very important" (p. 96).

The monetary impact on West Africa of abolition is examined by JAN S. HOGENDORN and HENRY A. GEMERY. They show that abolition caused a sharp drop in monetary growth, followed within decades by a recovery resulting from expansion of commodity exports. They conclude that West Africa enjoyed both a social saving and an economic benefit from abolition. In an insightful essay on abolition in the Indian Ocean, RALPH AUSTEN sees abolition as an expression of Western expansionist ideology. That ideology came into conflict with economic and political goals; even so abolitionists, accepting the need for accommodation, strove to remake the Indian Ocean world in their European image. EDWARD E. REYNOLDS, examining abolition and economic change on the Gold Coast, discerns both continuity and change; the work of Christian missionaries in promoting the cocoa industry as a substitute for the slave trade illustrates the difficulty of separating economic from moral motivations.

In Section Three, on the illegal slave trade, DAVID ELTIS, considers certain variables about shipping and mortality and concludes that the major impact of abolition came not until the 1830's. Similarly, PIETER EMMER finds that the Dutch slave trade ended only with slave registration in 1826. French suppression, at first ineffective and reluctant, at last saw justification in national pride and commercial opportunities, according to SERGE DAGET.

Companion pieces on the Danish trade by SVEND E. GREEN-PEDERSEN and

HANS CHRISTIAN JOHANSEN in Section Four, on American demographic and cultural responses, show that the Danish intent to make the Negro population self-sustaining was based on an overly sanguine interpretation of the St. Croix tax rolls and was never fulfilled. In an outstanding essay on slave demography in the British West Indies, RICHARD B. SHERIDAN concludes that efforts to encourage reproduction and family life were a failure. FRANKLIN W. KNIGHT's study of the development of Afro-American culture, warning against oversimplification, observes that Africans adapted to the Americas in a variety of ways.

Despite its disproportions, the book holds a unity through the affirmation of several themes: the ideology of emancipation had a broad base, for which neither an exclusively moral or economic explanation is adequate; the impact of abolition on both the illegal trade and Africa was surprisingly slight; attempts to substitute an American-born labor force for African-born workers failed. The result is a group of thoughtful essays from experienced interpreters of the Atlantic slave trade.

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Human cargoes: the British slave trade to Spanish America, 1700-1739. COLIN A. PALMER. Urbana, Chicago and London: University of Illinois Press, Blacks in the New World Series, 1981. xv + 183 pp. (Cloth US\$ 19.50, Paper US\$ 8.95)

The notorious triangle: Rhode Island and the African slave trade, 1700-1807. JAY COUGHTRY. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981. xiii + 361 pp. (Cloth US\$ 22.95)

These two volumes deal with hitherto-unexplored branches of the Atlantic slave trade, and as such may be seen as part of the continuing and very impressive response to PHILIP CURTIN's 1969 call for archival work on that subject. The first details the operation of one of the great chartered monopoly companies which dominated the early history of the trade; the second examines the other end of the competitive spectrum in the form of the activities of slave traders based on Rhode Island, chiefly in the second half of the 18th century. The importance of the two books goes much beyond the fact that they describe between them how fewer than 200,000 of the five million or so involuntary 18th-century African migrants were carried across the Atlantic. This is partly because the Spanish Americas, which recent slave trade research has tended to ignore, were the major destination of both groups of traders examined in the volumes and partly because the business of slave trading is more richly detailed here than in studies of some of the larger branches of the traffic — for example those dealing with the Portuguese trade.

PALMER uses Spanish and British primary sources to outline the British trade to Spanish America both before and after the Asiento was awarded in 1713. Though there is a chapter on interlopers, the nature of the sources dictates that most of the book is concerned with the operation of the South Sea Company

which held the Asiento from 1713 to 1739. There is much new and valuable material on the numbers, prices, ages, coastal origins and American destinations of the slaves and on the diseases to which they were subjected during and after the voyage. In addition, the description here of the tense relationship between the company on the one hand and the Spanish and British colonial authorities on the other has no counterpart in the 70-year-old work of GEORGES SCELLE, on which many historians have been forced to rely for the Asiento. The whole is written in a clear and uncomplicated prose style.

Yet answers to the larger questions are not always clear. Why did the Asiento fall short of expectations for the British, as indeed it did for most other holders? On the profitability issue PALMER treats the company's own gloomy assessments with proper scepticism, but his conclusion that profits were "better than good" sits uneasily with his comment three pages later that the company was "a commercial anachronism" and that it delivered only half of the slaves it contracted to supply. Likewise, the huge extra profits which the data show to have been available on slaves shipped direct from Africa seem at odds with the company's choice to supply over three-quarters of its slaves from Caribbean rather than African markets. The price, cost and volume data which have been so diligently assembled here might have allowed the author to move beyond the assessment of "inefficiency" which earlier writers have been quick to resort to when referring to chartered companies in this business.

The COUGHTRY volume performs a similar path-breaking operation in establishing the direction, composition and organization of the North American carrying trade on the basis of a large body of ship data collected from numerous primary sources. The author does not restrict himself, however, to the business or even the quantifiable aspects of the traffic, but makes extensive use of diaries and personal letters to construct a picture of the lives of owners, officers and crew which will be of interest to social historians. He is also concerned to a degree with locating the trade within the fabric of the economic life and development of Rhode Island, though he avoids here the larger issues raised by ERIC WILLIAMS in a different context. Despite this, there is a fascinating final chapter on abolition which describes the role of the Quakers, who pursued the slave traders through the courts, but as a matter of principle argued against the imposition of fines and other penalties on those found guilty.

Yet once again, one is left with a slight sense that more could have been achieved with the material. The author is unnecessarily conservative in making a virtue out of the avoidance of any judgment that smacks of a statistical projection or inference. Some readers will be disappointed that COUGHTRY, though better positioned than any other current scholar, makes no attempt to assess the volume of slave imports into North America and that he ignores the work of scholars such as FOGEL and ENGERMAN who have. Likewise, the excellent separate series of slaves imported and rum exported could have been at least correlated. Scattered references to price data might also have been pulled together.

These however are minor concerns. Both volumes represent major advances in areas which in the past have been largely subjects of conjecture. Their publication significantly reduces the schedule of work to be done on the slave trade—the two chief remaining subjects being the Portuguese traffic, particularly in the South Atlantic, and a major work of synthesis which will build on the extensive primary research of the last decade and a half. For with a few exceptions, much of the recent work has tended to avoid the really large questions of the slave trade,

abolition and economic developments on four different continents. The present volumes must bring such a work nearer however.

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Small garden ... bitter weed: struggle and change in Jamaica. GEORGE BECKFORD & MICHAEL WITTER. Morant Bay, Jamaica: Maroon Publishing House and London: Zed Press, 1982. xxi + 167 pp. (Cloth £ 16.95, Paper £ 4.95)

Small garden ... bitter weed is an interpretation of the social, economic, and political history of Jamaica from a socialist perspective. Using the methodology of historical materialism, GEORGE BECKFORD & MICHAEL WITTER skillfully weave a neat historical tapestry which depicts the struggle of the oppressed black masses of Jamaica against their oppressors — the white capitalist colonizers and the Jamaican mulatto petit-bourgeois merchants and manufacturers.

After the Spanish worked the original population of Arawak Indians into extinction, the English colonizers peopled the island with slaves and indentured servants from Africa and Asia to produce sugar for export. This marked the beginning of a protracted conflict between capital and labor as the workers sought to change the relations of production. The aim of the authors is to argue for a complete transformation of the relations of production under which the capitalists initially owned both capital and labor into a socialist system under which the workers own everything. Under the present system of dependent capitalism, the workers are exploited by both foreign and domestic capitalists.

Throughout the book, the State is viewed as an institutional mechanism structured to support the interests of the foreign capitalists and their local clients against those of the black masses. This perception, it is argued, has been supported by the policies of successive post-independence governments to steer the country along a peripheral capitalist development path. To change this, the authors advocate a political revolution so that "the process of socialist transformation in Jamaica [can] shift into high gear" (p. 124). Given the authors' objective, it is not surprising that they should admire the Michael Manley regime during the latter part of the 1970s for its "struggle against imperialism," while unflatteringly describing the new Seaga government as "the instrument of a degenerate ruling class that perceived real and imagined threats to their property, status and privilege from the PNP government and the democratic movement it led" (p. 145).

The petit bourgeoisie is depicted as the guardian of the status quo; therefore, any fundamental change in the system must come from the oppressed black masses. Thus, such Jamaican leaders as BUSTAMANTE and NORMAN MANLEY are seen to have ridden on the crest of the working class revolt of the 1930s. According to the authors, "The Colonial Office accepted the leadership of Bustamante and Norman Manley in order to support the dominance of the mulatto petit-bourgeoisie in the emerging anti-colonial movement" (p. 61).

In their attempt to weave a neat historical tapestry of Jamaica's social,

economic, and political change, BECKFORD & WITTER have taken great license with a number of historical causal relationships. The migration of the black peasantry to the Kingston metropolitan area, for example, is treated as a direct result of their rural displacement by "the inroads of bauxite and tourism" (p. 64). Nothing is said of the role of population growth or of the pull of urban industrial development. The economic hardships of the latter half of the 1970s are attributed directly to the loan conditions imposed by the International Monetary Fund: "The IMF seal of approval for external support generated such a massive decline of the standard of living of the working class that internal support [for the Manley government] weakened consistently" (p. 93). Nothing is said of the government's policy errors which helped to reduce the productive capacity of the economy.

Because the authors clearly place the blame for the harsh economic conditions of the black masses of Jamaica on the foreign and local capitalists, as well as on the State which supports them, they make a clear distinction between the capitalist-controlled export industries and the national economy. To the authors, the national economy is the indigenous economy which includes the large numbers of people engaged in various kinds of hustle activities. They argue that dependent capitalism has neglected the development of this indigenous economy and that only when the latter is allowed to develop can national self-reliance and social justice be achieved.

BECKFORD & WITTER are obviously mesmerized by the survival capabilities of those who operate in the indigenous or hustle economy to the extent that they confuse the survival capacity of the individual household with the managerial requirement of the domestic economy: "We assert unequivocally that management is already in plentiful supply. Anybody who doubts the managerial capacities of Jamaicans need only ask themselves how in these times of severe hardship, poor people are able to find food for their children and shoes and bus fares to send them to school — surely a miracle of domestic household management" (p. 111). Given this management capability, the authors argue, "all that is required is people control of the material base of the society and the associated transformation of the social environment" (p. 111). This is an incredibly simplistic perception of what national management is about. Perhaps this explains why the book downplays the serious problems of domestic management the Manley government encountered during the latter half of the 1970s. It also, in a way, reflects the naïveté of some academics regarding the practical management problems involved in the translation of their high-sounding and frequently sweeping ideological arguments into the reality of day-to-day policy making. In spite of the fact that MICHAEL MANLEY drew heavily on the academic community (including the authors of this book), he abandoned the emergency production plan which they helped him prepare largely because it was unrealistic.

All this aside, the book is fascinating to read. It undoubtedly reflects the authors' thorough familiarity with the social, economic, and political history of Jamaica. Their interpretation of this history, however, shows a disturbing propensity to attribute the country's problems to external causes.

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Sex, contraception, and motherhood in Jamaica. EUGENE B. BRODY.
Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, A
Commonwealth Fund Book, 1981, 278 pp. (Cloth US\$ 20.00)

Reflecting on the impotence of knowledge to effect change in human behavior, FREUD (1910: 225) noted his own "long superseded idea . . . that the patient suffers from a sort of ignorance, and that if one removes this ignorance by giving him information (about the causal connection of his illness with his life, about his experiences in childhood, and so on), he is bound to recover." FREUD continues: "... such measures have as much influence on the symptoms of nervous illness as a distribution of menu cards in a time of famine has upon hunger." EUGENE BRODY's *Sex, contraception, and motherhood in Jamaica* is a case description of just such a time of famine.

BRODY, a professor of psychiatry at the University of Maryland Medical School and an analyst trained at the New York Psychoanalytic Institute, examines why the widespread availability of contraceptive information and services in Kingston has not led to any decline in the Jamaican birthrate. He goes on to describe the economic and cultural context of reproduction for poor Kingston women (the famine), and the psychological stress and intrapsychic conflicts these women experience (the hunger).

The book reports outcomes of a study of Jamaican fertility-related behaviors that was conducted between February 1972 and April 1975. To "understand the barriers to contraceptive use," BRODY and Jamaican associates conducted interviews in public clinic settings with four samples: 50 sexually active non-contracepting women, 50 late users of contraception with three or more children at the time of first contraceptive request, and 50 early users with zero to two children at the time of first contraceptive request. The researchers intended to interview the mates of these women (150 men), but they were able to locate only ten of them, which suggests both the considerable distance between poor Jamaican women and their partners, and the superiority of ethnographic field research over clinic interviews for this topic. For the fourth sample, brief interviews were conducted with 283 Jamaican men who came to clinics to obtain contraceptives (condoms) for themselves.

In the transformation of these interview materials into variables and gamma correlations, BRODY's goal of "psychoanalytic knowing" is somewhat muted into standard socio-economic description. The women respondents are classified by employment, education, housing, etc., down to the fine points of their knowledge of reproductive physiology and the history of their coital partnerships. Yet in tables and BRODY's often sensitive commentary, the particular characteristics of the Jamaican situation unfold: the dehumanizing physical environment; the harsh and repressive parental response to young girls' displays of sexual interest or concern; the ambivalent and conflictful identification of young girls with their own mothers; the earliness of first intercourse (age 15 for most, with almost one-third of the study women reporting that their first sexual experience was the act of intercourse itself); the median age of first pregnancy at 16; the brief duration of partner relationships and the absence of economic or emotional security with these partners; the burdens of sustaining later children unaided; and the bargaining aspects of sex. In this context sexual intercourse without contraception may be seen, in BRODY's words, as a maladaptive symptomatic act standing "for an underlying process out of awareness... or conscious control". Its repetitive, obligatory quality stems from unconscious motives "such as when feelings of

loneliness, powerlessness, rootlessness, or inexpressible and not fully conscious anger at an important other demand relief and cannot be dealt with by direct action." A menu card of contraceptive pills will not allay this hunger.

On the whole, BRODY presents the psychoanalytic perspective with considerable restraint. One would like to have his further reflections on various topics of his discipline, such as the styles of cognition, defense mechanisms and ego strengths of these women. The Jamaican situation would seem to provide a rich case for consideration of current analytic topics such as KERNBERG's work (1980) on adolescent sexuality and on relations between the adolescent couple and the surrounding social group. The "yard" setting in which young Jamaican girls begin their partnerships and reproductive careers evokes the large unstructured groups studied by RICE (1965) and TURQUET (1975) in which underground, secret couple formation occurs as a direct reaction to and temporary defense against group processes.

The psychoanalytic tradition often appears ethnocentric in its insularity. BRODY's contribution is a tactful and thoughtful effort to enlarge that tradition.

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Religious cults of the Caribbean: Trinidad, Jamaica and Haiti.
GEORGE EATON SIMPSON. Rio Piedras: Institute of Caribbean
Studies, University of Puerto Rico, Caribbean Monograph
Series No. 15, 1980. 347 pp. (Paper US\$ 12.00)

Dr. SIMPSON is a disciple of HERSKOVITS and in the tradition of his famous master dedicated his life to the study of Afro-American religions in the Caribbean, with special emphasis on the Shango Cult of Trinidad. His first investigations of acculturation in terms of cultural re-interpretation, retention and syncretism in these religious movements date back to the early 1940s. His pioneering work caught the attention of scholars in all parts of the world, especially in the 60s

when Afro-American studies were very "in". In 1965 the *Shango Cult in Trinidad* was published, and in 1970 a new edition of this work added chapters on Jamaican revivalism and RasTafari, as well as on Haitian voodoo.

The new revised edition (1980) contains two more chapters — one on the Kele-Shango cult of St. Lucia and another on Afro-American religion and religious behavior, which sums up the empirical findings and adds a cross-cultural dimension to the previous, largely descriptive chapters on Jamaica, Haiti and Trinidad. Half of the new book is dedicated to the Shango and Shouter Church in Trinidad and gives us excellent insights into these two cults/sects. While Shango is based on the religion of the Yoruba of Nigeria, the Shouter Church has its roots in Baptist Protestantism, with a strong admixture of African beliefs and rites. It is of interest that similar Christian movements have developed in West Africa from similar roots in recent decades. The author observed the Shango Cult over a long period of time. After he first published some of his papers, many other scholars worked in the same field, and SIMPSON was able to compare his own findings with the research of others. He describes all aspects of the movements — the powers and their association with Catholic saints, the rites, the status of leaders and the importance of healing and conjuring, thus stressing the utilitarian aspects of the cult, which is also an African trait.

The second part of the book contains papers on Afro-American religion in Jamaica which deal with revivalism and the RasTafari Movement. Voodoo in Haiti was observed by the author already in 1936 for the first time. Most of the material used by SIMPSON in the elaboration of these chapters dates back to the 1940s and 50s. The most recent material on the Kele cult in St. Lucia derived from a relatively short visit to the island in the 1970s.

Although some of the material might be outdated today, it is very important for a new generation of fieldworkers to compare their own findings with the documents collected 30 or 40 years ago. Religious, psychological and social dimensions may change rapidly with modernization and outside influences. From my own experience with the Cult of María Lionza in Venezuela, which I have observed over the past 20 years, I can say that Afro-American religions are dynamic movements that are open to new teachings and rites and adapt to the changing needs of a society in socio-economic development. The new edition of SIMPSON's standard work should be welcomed by scholars interested in the religions of the Caribbean area and may greatly help researchers in their fieldwork.

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Sociedades cimarronas: comunidades esclavas rebeldes en las Américas. RICHARD PRICE (comp.) (Traducción, con revisiones, de *Maroon societies: rebel slave communities in the Americas*, segunda edición, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979.) México: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1981. 333 pp. (Rústica M.N.\$ 325, US\$ 9.00)

Hasta 1973 los procesos de rebelión de esclavos negros y la formación de sus sociedades cimarronas en las Américas no habían captado la atención de los investigadores norteamericanos, entre otras causas — dice RICHARD PRICE — porque muchos datos importantes sobre el fenómeno se hallaban en idiomas distintos al inglés. PHILIP CURTIN, historiador del tráfico de esclavos en el Nuevo Mundo ha señalado otra causa, válida en su propio campo: “la tradición parroquial de la historia nacional etnocéntrica.” Esta, como trasplante de Europa a América, ha enfocado restringida y sesgadamente el proceso histórico en el cual grupos distintos a los de Occidente se tratan en un esquema fortuito, cuando no falaz.

En este lado del mundo puede añadirse, que el problema se recrudece frente a “la tradición editorial etnocéntrica metropolitana” de Estados Unidos y Europa. En tanto que volúmenes apreciables de conocimiento científico se publican en inglés, sus traducciones en español pueden demorarse uno o dos decenios. Como contrapartida, las obras en español pueden llegar a no traducirse jamás. Así, la comunicación creativa entre estudiosos se torna utopía.

Por ello, *Sociedades Cimarronas* de RICHARD PRICE, editado en México, es una brecha en la barrera de variados etnocentrismos. No obstante, casi diez años debieron transcurrir entre la aparición de *Maroon Societies: rebel slave communities in the Americas* y su publicación en español.

PRICE reúne, en esta edición, quince contribuciones de varios autores sobre comunidades cimarronas, llamadas también *palenques*, *quilombos*, *mocambos*, *cumbes* o *maroons*. Los organiza en cinco áreas historico-geográficas: la América Española, el Caribe Francés, Brasil, Jamaica y las Guayanas. Las fechas originales de los artículos van de 1952, un escrito sobre palenques en Cuba, hasta 1970 con la narrativa de un viaje de jefes cimarrones de Suriname al África Occidental. Incluye además, segmentos de un diario de combate de un soldado en comisión de guerra contra los negros en Suriname en 1772 y un fragmento singular de historia oral de los cimarrones sobre acciones guerrilleras en esa misma región. Aunque estos dos documentos no son destacados especialmente por PRICE, la inclusión es uno de los puntos brillantes de su libro. Tal es el tipo de documentación que los estudios de cimarrones necesitan con urgencia.

La edición en español incluye además el epílogo y la actualización de la bibliografía publicada sobre el tema en el período entre su primera y segunda edición en inglés de 1979.

Pero el capítulo más importante del libro es la introducción. PRICE construye una urdimbre de comparación analítica, sólida, amplia y multidimensional que está destinada a servir de apoyo a muchos trabajos durante un futuro extenso. Sobre esa urdimbre y con las colaboraciones del libro, PRICE trama el desarrollo de la formación cimarrona en el marco colonial esclavista de Europa en América. Es indudable que su gran preocupación por entender la alquimia en la forja cultural afroamericana queda plasmada en este capítulo.

En efecto, una perspectiva de creatividad del negro en América modela su explicación de nuevas formas socio-culturales. Una de ellas, la cimarrona. En el

proceso — señala — hay transformación, elaboración e innovación de la tradición africana, de la indígena y de la europea. Pero el análisis de PRICE está cuajado de inquietudes. No se conforma con aludir al quilombo de Palmares como un Estado, a los cimarrones de Jamaica organizados en una Federación o citar a bandas como la de André en la Guayana Francesa para mostrar un perfil variado de su elaboración político-militar. PRICE urge a los estudiosos sobre la necesidad de una pesquisa en la articulación socio-económica, guerrillera e ideológica que debieron tener las sociedades cimarronas. Y también sobre el proceso de su transformación o disolución.

Claro que un número apreciable de trabajos recientes, algunos estimulados por su misma publicación, han respondido con creces a las inquietudes de PRICE. Para citar un ejemplo, las estrategias de huida y enfrentamiento cimarrón que aparecen diáfanos en la introducción, han sido vertidas por el venezolano GERMÁN CARRERA DAMAS en una interpretación política reivindicativa para el negro contemporáneo. Así, en el marco de un cimarronaje cultural, las estrategias de huida y enfrentamiento pueden explicar la participación actual del negro en la lucha de las clases sociales. Cuando el prejuicio de las clases dominantes hacia el negro reprime su ascenso socio-económico, éste adopta temporalmente valores "blancos". Pero tras del mismo objetivo, él puede enfrentárseles validando sus tradiciones negro africanas.

El Colombia, al destacarse masivamente la epopeya guerrillera y libertaria de los palenques, sus creaciones lingüísticas y sociales, la imagen estereotipada del negro empieza a desdibujarse — no solo entre el público general, sino entre los mismos negros. En Brasil, el quilombismo como cimarronaje político contemporáneo es una propuesta que al actualizar puntos ideológicos del fenómeno seguramente provocará enfrentamientos.

Pienso que PRICE ha logrado avivar el estudio del cimarronaje o movimiento guerrillero no como una cuestión del pasado en el Nuevo Mundo. Ciertamente, la vigencia de la guerrilla y un cimarronaje contemporáneo en algunos de nuestros países es una respuesta a desigualdades sociales y económicas y a violación de derechos humanos — situaciones, éstas, que igualmente apremiaron la formación rebelde de *palenques*, *quilombos* o *maroons*.

En el ámbito de Latinoamérica, trabajos como este de RICHARD PRICE, al trascender las bardas etnocéntricas, se constituyen en puentes no solo entre el ayer y el presente, sino entre distintos mundos.

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The Haitian maroons; liberty or death. JEAN FOUCARD. (Translation, by A. FAULKNER WATTS, of *Les marrons de la liberté*, Paris, L'École, 1972.) New York: Edward W. Blyden Press, 1981. 386 pp. (Cloth US\$ 25.00 plus postage)

JEAN FOUCARD's award-winning book, *The Haitian Maroons*, consummates a moldy controversy in the study of resistance to slavery in Saint-Domingue. FOUCARD distinguishes two major schools in that sub-field. The first, which he calls "Haitian" (though it includes some French historians), stresses the inherent

harshness of the slave system, and regards the quest for freedom as the major cause of marronage. Explicitly or not, that school also ties maroon activities — including their very flight — to the general slave uprising of 1791 which eventuated in the 1804 independence of Haiti. The second school, represented mainly by French-born historians, sees marronage as an “accident” of the system, occasionally provoked by the extreme cruelty of some masters, unbearable work conditions, lack of food, etc. Within that view, the “desire” for freedom was hardly a cause of marronage: when and if the harsher edges of the system were softened, slavery was indeed bearable. The role of the historian then becomes one of isolating the variables that provoked the greatest number of flights among those “sick” or “disturbed” slaves. FOUCHARD’s judgment on that perspective is unequivocal: “Cut-rate psychoanalysis” (p. 90). And since French historians have stressed the Haitians’ paucity of documentary evidence, FOUCHARD sets for himself the task of confirming, with the most massive compilation of facts, the claims hitherto based on pride and logic, and engages in combat “for the honor of the Haitian school” (p. 106).

The argument is extremely powerful in its simplicity: if one can accumulate cases of marronage numerous and diverse enough to rescind the notion of its incidentalness, then the flight from plantation life stands as an endemic feature of the system, and the “desire” for freedom — however qualified — remains the major commonality among maroons of all kinds. One need not dismiss the “classic” causes; they simply do not exhaust the breath of the phenomenon.

FOUCHARD digs up his evidence from no less than 48,000 announcements of runaway slaves in flight, in jail or on sale after capture, made by the masters and scattered in hundreds of issues of 22 colonial newspapers from 1764 to 1793. These numbers carry their weight and impelled GABRIEL DEBIEN, the dean of French historians of Saint-Domingue, to salute the book as “an event in the field of history investigation.” Trinidad-born C.L.R. JAMES, author of the classic *Black Jacobins* (1938), assures us, in his preface, of the book’s “place among the historical masterpieces of the age.” Indeed, by sheer accumulation, FOUCHARD succeeds in showing that maroons were of all ages, all origins, all shades, ranging from the “Bossale” who escaped the very day of his arrival to the privileged Creole, born on the plantation, who fled after years of service without “apparent” motive. One would have liked to see more systematization in that presentation, of the kind that FOUCHARD presents in an extremely useful table of the slave trade, by far the most valuable documentation to date on slave arrivals in Saint-Domingue (p. 123–141). But such tabulations must have been very difficult, given Haitian historians’ total lack of institutional support. The book bends, at times, under the weight of its documentation, but its redundancy did not tire this reader whenever it went beyond the announcements themselves to flesh out the diversity of the maroon population. With *The Haitian Maroons*, an approach to resistance in Saint-Domingue fulfills its promises.

But the vindication of the Haitian school should not cloak the fact that the notion of freedom *in se* is a fairly recent invention of Western liberal thought, always qualified by practice despite the claims actuated by ideologues of both the French and North American Revolutions. Thus to impose freedom as an abstract notion to the collective consciousness of Saint-Domingue’s slaves may, ironically, take away some of the credit due to their ingenuity. Maroons built specific visions of life beyond the plantation, and they fashioned strategies to implement their conflicting goals within the totalitarian context of a slave society. One would like to know the differences in the alternatives open to — and

the choices made by — those who formed camps in the mountains versus those who lingered around towns, or those who openly advocated the overthrow of the system in 1691, 1758, 1786, and 1791. I have suggested elsewhere that the latter groups seem confined in the Northern part of the colony, where topography, demography and military balance curtailed the establishment of permanent camps (TROUILLOT 1977). But surely, more detailed studies are needed on the uses to which runaway slaves put their freedom, and fruitful comparisons could be drawn with other colonies (PRICE 1976, 1979; KOPYTOFF 1976). Further, a definite break imposes itself with the dramatic changes in the context of maroonage brought by the 1791 general uprising and the 1793 Proclamation of Freedom. Henceforth, the extent of maroon contribution to the rebellion must be dealt with empirically, especially since MANIGAT (1977) has provided a potent framework for that research. Finally, as FOUCHARD readily admits, many maroon bands refused to join the “regular” revolutionary army, some fought against it, and others endured long after the 1804 independence. To the best of our knowledge, Haiti’s last maroon leader disappeared in the 1820’s when his troops were disbanded by the *Haitian* government. Now that FOUCHARD has substantiated the quest for Freedom it remains to be shown what such freedom signified to different strata of a variegated mass.

The Haitian Maroons: Liberty or Death introduces English readers to the Haitian school of history through one of its most prestigious representatives. C.L.R. JAMES’ preface deserves notice, as almost everything else this veteran of the earliest wars has written since the 1930’s. To be sure, well-seasoned academics will find the whole package a bit too flamboyant, especially since A.F. WATTS’ carefully woven translation preserves the rhythm and the fervor which characterize the Haitian school and contributed to the laudatory reception of the original French version of *Les Marrons de la Liberté* in 1973. But in Haiti, history was never a career: it is still, as FOUCHARD’s title reminds us in reviving the old slave saying, a matter of “Liberty or Death.”

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Ensayos de sociología Dominicana. JOSÉ DEL CASTILLO. Prologue by HARRY HOETINK. Santo Domingo: Ediciones Siboney, Colección Contemporáneos 4, 1981. iv + 210 pp. (Paper US\$ 5.00)

This series of essays, first published in the local press during 1980, is grouped into three uneven divisions: Politics, Society and History. The weight is found in the essays written on contemporary themes, and this may explain why the logical order of presentation is reversed. Nevertheless, as a historian, I read the last section first and continued with the essays on the society before delving into the analysis of contemporary politics. As a result of this unorthodox approach, I confirmed that the author operated from a solid historical knowledge, demonstrated incisive and sound understanding of his people and their problems, and was an astute political analyst who brought clarity and objectivity to the often-passionate study of politics. By the time I reached the end of the first part of the book, and the end of my assignment, I was a fervent admirer of the author.

JOSÉ DEL CASTILLO, a young professor and social scientist at the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo, has carried out extensive research in documentary material available on the recent history of the Dominican Republic. His previous work has been based on material gleaned from the U.S. Consular Reports and published in various journals and academic collections. HARRY HOETINK, who wrote a prologue to the book, is fully justified in bringing this scholar's work to the attention of Caribbeanists.

The bulk of the essays in the section on history deal with the problem of immigration into the Dominican Republic. DEL CASTILLO confronts the Dominican preoccupation with the process of whitening the population, so ably studied in that now-classic work, *La Comunidad Mulata*, and explores the sordid aspects of the relationship between the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Especially interesting is the analysis of EUGENIO MARÍA DE HOSTOS' comments on the theme of immigration as a means of strengthening the growth of the Dominican Republic.

The middle section on Dominican society also concentrates on the movement of people and the strain and stress this brings to the society. It discusses the Dominican emigrant to the United States and the problems faced by the undocumented migrant who still longs to visit periodically his homeland. The grossly brutal exploitation of the Haitian migrant, enslaved and mistreated on the sugar plantations, is placed in proper historical perspective and possible solutions are studied. Racial prejudice in Dominican society is unmasked and, through the words of JOAQUÍN BALAGUER, the prejudice of the elite is clearly demonstrated. Finally, there is a section on internal migration and the growth of the urban areas of the Republic.

The strength of the book is undoubtedly in the first section on politics, which takes up about fifty percent of the publication. It is most refreshing to read an objective, dispassionate, but highly lucid and accurate analysis of the Dominican political picture. This section analyzes the rise and deterioration of the political power of JOAQUÍN BALAGUER, the rise of the political power of JOSÉ FRANCISCO PEÑA GÓMEZ, the discarding of JUAN BOSCH, the strength of the Dominican Revolutionary Party and the inevitable victory of the ruling political coalition of rural elite and urban masses. So on target is DEL CASTILLO that he has documented the rise of the president-elect SALVADOR JORGE BLANCO easily two years before his recent success.

It should be clear by now that the term *sociología* in the title does not mean the same as the North American word sociology. However, in this work and others by this author, the objectivity and scientific training is reflected in the high quality of the essays. The writer has done his research, and he confronts his society with detachment and without identifiable prejudices. The book is well worth serious academic attention.

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Nacionalismo, etnicidad y política en la República Cooperativa de Guyana. ANDRÉS SERBIN. Caracas: Editorial Bruguera Venezolana, 1981. 276 pp. (Paper Bs 45)

In the preface to this innovative study, ANDRÉS SERBIN describes himself as a Gramscian anthropologist interested in the historical dynamics of post-colonial Caribbean society. For his demonstration of the methodology, SERBIN picks Guyana, a country of considerable interest to the Venezuelans who will constitute his primary audience. GRAMSCI's special contribution to political theory is his concept of hegemony, i.e., that combination of techniques (involving both force and consensus-building) by which one political class persuades other classes in a society to accept its own moral, political, and cultural values.

The task SERBIN gives himself is a complicated one, as the dominator/dominated dimension of colonial hegemony in Guyana is compounded by ethnic conflict within the world of the dominated. Nevertheless, SERBIN skillfully demonstrates the relevance of GRAMSCI to the culturally pluralistic Caribbean. The data in his chapters are organized to demonstrate (1) the historical imposition and impact of the dominant (British) ideology on each of Guyana's ethnic groups, (2) the reaction of the latter, including the development of counter "ethnic ideologies," (3) the agents (*espacios*) of hegemonic or counterhegemonic ethnic socialization (i.e., family, religion, religious associations, and unions), (4) the hegemonic ideological apparatus of the state (through its control over education and the media), and (5) the post-war and on-going political party struggle over ethnic and national ideology.

Critical to the approach SERBIN uses is his concept of "ethnic ideology." A working definition of this phenomenon is found in the following quote: "... [I]n the colonial context, a series of unstructured (diffuse) ethnic ideologies were developed, principally constituted by ethnic stereotypes and attitudes about the dominant European group and the other subordinated ethnic groups. These ideologies were generated from among various factors: the survival of ties with the original culture, the particular place (*inserción*) of the group economically and socially in the colonial society and the impact of the dominant ideology and culture on the pattern of each group's differing process of acculturation" (p. 116). Up until the 1940s, SERBIN argues, the Portuguese, Chinese, and "Afro-

Guyanese" accepted Britain's moral, cultural, and political ideology, while the "Indo-Guyanese" and Amerindians stood apart, rejecting it.

In such global characterizations, one loses some of the fluidity, borrowing, and struggle over socialization that doubtless occurred. For example, such characterizations do not help us to understand how the Afro-Guyanese could move quickly from one column ("accepting dominant ideology") to the other ("accepting counter ideology"). Nor do they help to explain the internal transformation (or the extent thereof) of the counter-ethnic ideology among East Indians in the 1940s and 1950s, moving from defensive protection of their cultural institutions to (at least partial) endorsement of Cheddi Jagan's Marxist-Leninism. Part of the problem may be the author's treatment of ethnic groups as if they were corporate and/or homogeneous entities. Given the scope of his inquiry, this may have been a convenient didactic shorthand to use, but the reader's curiosity is nonetheless aroused by the instances of individuals "crossing the aisle" to cooperate with political parties of ethnic groups other than their own. What brought them to do it?

Thanks to the British interference with self-government in the 1950s and sabotage (with U.S. help) of the Cheddi Jagan government in the 1960s, counter-hegemonic ethnic ideologies have proliferated, sponsored by the People's Progressive Party (stripped to its East Indian base after a promising multi-racial debut), the People's National Congress (Forbes Burnham's Black section of the old PPP), the African Society for Cultural Relations with Independent Africa, the Indian Political Revolutionary Association, and the 1974 merger of these last two in the Working People's Alliance under Walter Rodney. SERBIN clearly laments the turbulent factionalism in the system (including the murder of Rodney, noted in a postscript), and in his treatment of the institutions of social control he makes it clear that the PNC has become the new hegemonic political class, sustaining or inspiring the others in their political reactions.

If there is a shortcoming in Gramscian anthropology, as demonstrated here, it might be its limited attention to economic and political dependency in its international context. For example, there is little here on the economic and political behavior and impact of Booker Brothers, Alcan, and Reynolds, or the fate of these in the hands of the PNC government. And the events of 1962-64 were handled with disappointing brevity. These criticisms notwithstanding, the book offers a useful introduction to many dimensions of Guyanese society and politics.

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I sought my brother: an Afro-American reunion. S. ALLEN COUNTER & DAVID L. EVANS. Foreword by ALEX HALEY. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1981. xxi + 276 pp. (Cloth US\$ 19.95)

"[This] is not a typical academic's account of discovering an uncivilized and backward black tribe. We discovered an experience, we discovered friends and family, we discovered ourselves" (p. xix). So it is that COUNTER gives promise of an ethnographic account of Suriname's Maroon societies in which, perhaps, as VICTOR TURNER puts it, "Barriers between self and other, head and heart, conscious and unconscious, history and autobiography, have been thrown down..." But this initial promise goes unfulfilled. It soon becomes apparent that the authors are seeing the bush through the tinted lenses of an Afro-United States cultural nationalism of the 1960's (not an unpardonable perspective in itself), but without the care of scholarship that might justify either the work's ideological bias or its ethnographic pretensions.

The pilgrimage into the bush bears some of the marks of an exoticising anthropology of earlier decades. We follow the authors by photographs and text from the hot, but paved, traffic-filled streets of Paramaribo to the remote reaches of Suriname's jungle interior — several days' journey by canoe along piranha-infested rivers. The journey has its rewards, however, for here live peoples "... purely African and isolated from the outside world" (p. 32). The folk we come upon are insulated from modernity by both space and time: "At that moment it seemed that for every mile we had traveled into the rain forest we had traveled back about a year in time, until we had gone back more than two centuries" (p. 33).

The authors sustain the impression throughout that ritual, family organization, woodcarving, and much else have long existed in the timeless, undifferentiated state in which they come to discover them. They go so far as to chide their brothers in the Old World for not having held to their traditions quite so tenaciously: "We wondered just how West Africans would react to seeing the Surinam bush people, who had held on to their ancient traditions better than most nations on the African continent today" (p. 55). Even such tell-tale evidence of change and interaction with the outside world as outboard motors, axes, and the bright fabrics used to fashion the clothes that the forest dwellers pictured throughout the book are wearing, are only briefly remarked upon. Only on subsequent visits are the authors prepared to acknowledge change, but even then their analysis is unsophisticated: "They are losing control of their lives and their livelihood" (p. 263).

COUNTER, a biologist, and EVANS, an admissions officer — both of Harvard — take several jabs at anthropology, and in particular at "white" anthropology. This is all well and good; critical self-scrutiny has become one of the most profitable directions taken by anthropological writing in the last two decades. In this case, however, the authors only damage their own credibility in their effort to denigrate the work of other (unnamed) scholars. It is inaccurate to imply as they do (p. xvii) that European and American anthropologists who have done research among the Suriname Maroons have all focussed on groups near the coast and on the periphery of Bush Negro societies. Moreover, some of the very scholarship they discount would have helped them establish more convincingly the nature of the cultural links between Africa and the Suriname Maroons.

What we have from COUNTER & EVANS are assertions of cultural continuities unsupported by careful proof; indeed we are often left to take on faith the

existence of the parallel West African elements. They assume, moreover, that similarities of form are sufficient to establish the African origin of particular cultural features. By contrast, other scholars have pointed out that formal resemblances can also be traced to other world areas; that some seemingly African forms have developed in Suriname quite independently; that there has been constant change in Bush Negro societies which can be traced in artistic production and social organization; and that it is to underlying ideas of values and aesthetics that we need look for African continuities in the New World — ideas that place a high value on the constant transformation of cultural form. By neglecting such work COUNTER and EVANS do a disservice to Afro-American scholarship.

I Sought My Brother does have certain nascent qualities that might have been developed into important statements. The authors pick up on elements of values and artistic style that resound with black culture in the United States: the similarities between Bush Negro ritual and the gospel choir (p. 209) is but one instance of this. Such intuitive insights, however, are not developed. Similarly, a fuller treatment of ethnobotany, or of the important relations between Afro-American and Indian communities of the rain forest, could have made a significant contribution to the understanding of these societies. Instead, COUNTER & EVANS are content to be myth makers, inventing the Suriname Maroons as authentic Africans on an 18th-century set who have waited just long enough to be filmed and marketed to an eager North American audience.

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Bijdragen tot de kennis van de kolonie Suriname, tijdvak 1816 tot 1822.
A.F. LAMMENS (edited by G.A. DE BRUIJNE). Amsterdam: Vrije
Universiteit, *Bijdragen tot de Sociale Geografie en Planologie*
3, 1982. xx + 198 pp. (Paper Dfl. 17.00)

There are only a few reliable sources on the social history of Suriname in the first half of the 19th century, written by persons living at that time. One such manuscript is the memoirs of ADRIAAN FRANÇOIS LAMMENS, who lived in the Dutch colony of Suriname for almost twenty years. LAMMENS, who was born in 1767 in Vlissingen (The Netherlands), left for Suriname in 1816 where he held several positions at the Court, including President of the Court of Civil and Criminal Justice. In 1835, he returned to The Netherlands and settled in The Hague, where he died in 1847.

LAMMENS' memoirs consist of seventeen volumes, one of which (number 13) is entitled "*Bijdragen tot de Kennis van de Kolonie Suriname*." This volume provides a valuable description of Paramaribo, the capital of Suriname, and of its population — both blacks and whites. The book contains a variety of information on mating behaviour, fertility, mortality, income, occupations, ethnic divisions, slave houses and local markets. The description of the daily activities of the slaves who carried their produce to the local markets in Paramaribo is especially interesting. According to LAMMENS, the growth of these

activities was caused by the urbanization which developed at the expense of plantation agriculture. In this connection he also mentions the fact that many Negroes were loitering aimlessly in the streets of Paramaribo (p. 53-55).

Referring to the stagnant economic development of Suriname, he blames the mother country, The Netherlands, for discouraging the development of small industries in the colony. "The Government has never encouraged the establishment of small industries for fear that they would develop at the expense of the interests of the mother country" (p. 61; see also p. 146). To support his claim that conditions for the development of local industry were good, LAMMENS provides an overview of occupations and salaries in Suriname, showing that the skilled labour required for small industries was readily available.

Concerning the allegedly-open hospitality in Suriname, LAMMENS' statements are not clear. "... the fact that a stranger with a high position in society is treated well when [because] one [the host] can benefit from it ..., this I do not regard as hospitality: self-interest is [probably] the motive" (p. 64). On the next page he claims, however, that "... if someone has fallen on evil days, then everyone is willing to help."

LAMMENS' statement that it was the slave women who carried the produce of the slaves' provision ground agriculture to the local market in the capital (p. 78; see also pp. 113, 195) is surprising. Preliminary results of recent archival study suggest that male marketers were replaced by females only after the abolition of slavery. Nevertheless, his remarks on this theme are of importance in view of the developments which took place in other slave societies such as Haiti and Jamaica.

The same holds for the introduction of steam mills for the processing of sugar cane at the beginning of the 19th century. His conclusions on the mortality-reducing effect of the introduction of these mills for the slave population (p. 148) raises questions for anthropologists and demographers interested in comparative analysis of the New World slave societies. LAMMENS' explanation of the growing number of sexual unions between white men and coloured women — which points to the shortage of white women (p. 57) — is naive. On page 91 he states that this habit "still occurs in spite of the fact that the number of white women has increased considerably." LAMMENS seems not to have been aware that the sexual unions he referred to were rather common in Suriname at that time, at least for the white overseers on the plantations.

Thanks to the editor, Dr. G.A. DE BRUIJNE, this important source of valuable information on Suriname can reach a wide audience.

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Aantekeningen over de geschiedenis van de Kwinti en het dagboek van Kraag (1894-1896). CHRIS DE BEET & MIRIAM STERMAN. Utrecht: Center for Caribbean Studies, University of Utrecht, Bronnen voor de Studie van Bosneger Samenlevingen 6, 1980. 76 pp. (Paper Dfl. 5.00)

Volume 6 in the series *Bronnen voor de studie van Bosneger samenlevingen* (*Sources for the study of Bush Negro societies*) has a 33-page review of the most trenchant archival and ethnographic evidence on the varied antecedents of the Kwinti Maroons of Suriname, their emergence in the 1850's as a vassal population of the Matawai Maroons, and their (re)settlement in the Coppename River area. KRAAG's diary is next reproduced in nearly 13 pages of regularized Sranan Tongo, followed by just over 13 pages of Dutch translation. Appendix A (2½ pp.) copies HELSTONE's missionary report (printed in Suriname in 1947) on "What the Curinti or Koffimakka Negroes tell about their origins." Appendix B (7 pp.) reprints an 1895 article from the German mission on "Coppenkrisi in the heathen bush, a small plant from the Heavenly Father." There are also maps, a bibliography and a glossary. With the exception of KRAAG's diary, the volume is in Dutch.

The Kwinti are the smallest and least understood of the six Bush Negro tribes, not least because both the Coppename and the Saramacca River branches report three distinct accounts of their beginnings. DE BEET & STERMAN report evidence to support at least two of these theses, and reach the following conclusions on Kwinti provenience: Slaves along the De Canje River revolted in 1763 and fled their plantations. Their success ignited a rebellion among slaves on Berbice plantations. People from both areas escaped eastwards to the Corantine River, and drove off the government postholder who was stationed there. These were to be the ancestors of the Kwinti. By December of 1764, the insurgents — who at one point numbered over 1000 — had been suppressed, the original instigator had committed suicide, and other leaders had been executed. Because official attention remained focused on Berbice instead of on the Corantine (which today separates Guyana and Suriname), the runaways in the Corantine region enjoyed a period of relative safety during which they may have joined up with a non-pacified Maroon population living in the Coppename region.

The introductory chapter further traces the gradual process by which the Kwinti settled among the Matawai, and their disenchantment when NOAH ADRAI, the estranged brother of the fabled Maroon prophet, JOHANNES KING, became the new and despotic *granman* (chief) of the Matawai. It documents the reasons for the bitter hostility between ALAMU and AKETTIMONI, leaders of the Kwinti who fled to the Coppename, and the largely unwitting role of the Moravian mission in the rise and fall of Coppenkrisie and the power of Christianity on the river.

KRAAG's diary and the appendices are implicit illustrations of the failure of the missionaries in their competition with a religion they did not understand. The Moravian Brethren's PAUL WEHLE was instrumental in the appointment of CHRISTIAAN KRAAG (a Bush Negro convert whose tribal affiliation is not mentioned) as native evangelist to the Kwinti in 1894. By 1900, the redoubtable KRAAG had baptized almost everyone in Coppenkrisie, WEHLE had baptized the last four heathen in Kaaimanson, and only seven heathen were left in pagan Bitagron. The mission's reports were ecstatic: "The attitude of the evangelist Christiaan towards the congregation is apparently sound and blessed. He carries out his task with conviction, and possesses the necessary gifts and the requisite

steadfastness of character" (p. 70). Three years later, however, interest in the new religion had evaporated; church and school were ignored; the Kwinti were riven with internal political strife; and the evangelist was effectively being starved out. KRAAG was recalled, and for seven years there was no Christian mission on the Coppename. In 1910, however, when it had become obvious that the Djuka were successfully re-converting the Kwinti to traditional Bush Negro beliefs, a new evangelist was sent to the then-dominant village of Kaaimanston, where church and school have been maintained since, albeit in competition with Catholic missionaries and representatives of various native cults.

This volume is not a perfect production. The introduction, really the intellectual heart of the work, is somewhat repetitious, and there are a few mistakes, such as a date of 1800 rather than 1900 for the settlement of Makajapingo (p. 15) and an implication that 1908 precedes 1896 (p. 30, footnote 4). The essential elements in the puzzle of Kwinti provenience are not resolved: we still do not know what relationships if any existed among their ancestors, the people of JERMES, and those of GOLIATH. Both of the latter, like the escapees from Berbice and De Canje, had reason to avoid the Matawai and the Saramacca.

But these are quibbles. The fact that the very evidence which DE BEET & STERMAN present encourages alternative interpretations can only underscore the inestimable service which their archival research and scholarship perform. Bush Negro societies have unique and vigorous characteristics which students of New World cultures are only now learning to appreciate for their comparative as well as intrinsic value. The only major improvement required for this monograph (and indeed, for this series) is its translation into English.

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Recht, commercie en kolonialisme in West-Indië. A.J.M. KUNST.
Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1981. 374 pp. (Cloth Dfl. 39.50)

The author, former professor at the University of the Netherlands Antilles, wished to give his students a survey of the history of West Indian law. While preparing the book, he realized that a history of law of this region, so deeply influenced by commercial colonialism, should be a history of law within the broader economic development of the Caribbean. The result of that broader scope of interest is this book on the history of law, commerce and colonialism of the West Indies, from initial Spanish penetration up to the modern codification of law in the Netherlands Antilles in 1869. KUNST starts with a chapter on Spanish colonialism in the 15th and 16th centuries. He then gives a detailed description of Dutch expansion in the West Indies which was part of a long war of independence against the Spanish forces. In three chapters he offers a detailed story of the [Dutch] *West-Indische Compagnie*, a commercial enterprise with military and administrative powers, derived from the *Staten Generaal* of the Dutch Republic. This company was established at the end of the truce between the Dutch Republic and Spain, in 1621. In the text of the *Octrooy*, a fundamental law for the company conferred by the *Staten Generaal*, it was prescribed that two

separate accounts should be made public — one about commercial activities, the other concerning military activities.¹ As a *Cerro de Pasco* Corporation before its time,² the company combined its military task with its commercial expansion — not in the mountains of Latin America, but on the shores of Africa and the West Indies.

As an intermezzo, KUNST deals, in Chapter V, with two important international problems in the period around 1800. The first, the process of decolonialization which was so important in 19th-century Latin America, was insignificant for the Dutch colonial regions in the West Indies. The second, the abolition of slavery, was a subject for deep reflection in the colonies and the metropolis, resulting in abolition only in 1863.

The last and longest chapter (about 100 pages, compared with about 20 to 30 for the other chapters) is also the most important and original. It gives a detailed account of the history of law in the Netherlands Antilles, beginning with the 17th century and ending in 1869. KUNST offers an abundantly documented story of Dutch colonial government and colonial administration of justice, subdivided in three main periods — the period up to the Napoleonic Wars, the years until 1815, including a period of British Rule, and finally the 19th century. A highly important development was the very late introduction of the modern codification of law in the Netherlands Antilles. In the metropolis, that process of modernization was already realized under Napoleonic rule. The inconsistency within the system of law of the Dutch kingdom was very clear. So was the reason why. The principle of personal freedom, an important element in the new system of law, was incompatible with the existence of slavery on the Netherlands Antilles, so the old law should be, and was, used in the colony until the abolition of slavery in 1863. Professor KUNST also gives a very interesting description of the historical genesis of the separation between the functions of the executive, legislature, and judiciary in the Netherlands Antilles. Here, a decisive point was reached in 1869, with the establishment of a newly organized and independent judiciary, with different courts.

Finally, I would like to make some critical remarks. From the title, one might expect a book with a broad scope in time, region, and subject — describing a long period from the 16th to the 19th century, a complex region with a complex historical development, and a wide subject, covering the history of law, commerce, and colonialism. It is no wonder that Professor KUNST cannot give us a satisfying analysis on so broad a subject within one book. So, in fact, he concentrates on the Netherlands Antilles (and not Suriname), especially on legal and juridical questions. Therefore, another (less pretentious) title focused on the two dominant elements — the Netherlands Antilles and the history of law — might have been more appropriate. In fact, the first five chapters, interesting though they are, are an extensive introduction to the long chapter on the history of the Netherlands Antilles.

My more serious criticism is that this book lacks a central problem, as a point of reference for the reader and the author. The text begins, without problem or framework, with the story of the discovery of America, and ends very suddenly with some details about administration of justice on the Netherlands Antilles. There is no conclusion, no synthesis, and this is a problem throughout the whole text. There is an abundance of facts, justified with a fine academic apparatus. But a systematic analysis and synthesis of the presented facts would have strengthened the book.

These critical remarks notwithstanding, Professor KUNST has written a most

important book. It is a rich source for the history of law of the Netherlands Antilles, offers many important facts about the government and administration of justice over an extensive period and demonstrates very clearly how the important decisions on these subjects were prepared and taken by the government in the metropolis.

NOTES

1. See article XVI: "Datmen alle ses Jaeren sal maecken generaele Reeckeninge van alle vuytreedingen ende retouren, mitsgaders van winste ende verlies van de Compaignie, Te weeten een van de negocie, ende een vander Oorloge elck apart" (KUNST p. 328).
2. See MANUEL SCORZA's *Redoble por Rancas*, a novel on the commercial and military penetration of a multinational in the Andes region of Perú between 1950 and 1962.

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Antilliana. WILLIAM CHARLES DE LA TRY ELLIS. (Edited by J.E. SPRUIT and E. VOGES, and distributed under the auspices of the University of the Netherlands Antilles). Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1981. 206 pp (Paper Dfl. 24.00)

In 1977, the well-known and highly-regarded Curaçao jurist, W. CH. DE LA TRY ELLIS, died at the age of 95. For years he had been a member of the highest court on his native island, the Hof van Justitie (Court of Justice); in the last years before his retirement in 1934, he had served as presiding judge. In addition he was for many years a member of the legislative assembly of the Colony Curaçao, the Koloniale Raad (Colonial Council) and the advisory boards of the Governor. After his retirement he was still involved in several ways in the political decision-making on Curaçao.

DE LA TRY ELLIS spent much of his time, especially in the 1940's, studying the history of Curaçao and of the Caribbean in general. This resulted in a number of articles, which for the greater part were published in the little-known periodical, *Lux*, that was printed on Curaçao in a limited edition during and shortly after World War II. On the initiative of the University of the Netherlands Antilles, all 13 articles which he wrote in the period 1943-1960 are collected in one volume, *Antilliana*. They are all written in Dutch.

Only a few articles deal with the Antilles in general. In connection with works published by others DE LA TRY ELLIS made some remarks on the first period of European penetration in the Caribbean and on phenomena linked with this period (the *encomienda* and *repartimiento* system, the decimation of the Indians, the importation of the first Negro slaves into the West Indies, the activities of the buccaneers etc.). He has not added new facts to the data published by previous authors.

Of more lasting importance are the studies which have been dedicated to the local history of Curaçao (eight articles) and Bonaire (one article). These deal almost exclusively with the second half of the 18th century and with the 19th century. They are mainly based on archival research that was carried out by the author himself. Exactly which archives he consulted is not indicated; unfortunately, the studies have no footnote references. Nevertheless, it becomes clear that he found his data in the minute-books of the Colonial Council and the Court of Justice and their predecessors, in notarial records, in the *Publicatiebladen* (the *Official Gazette*) and in the *Curaçaosche Courant*.

Not only in the somewhat solemn, official style, but also in the choice of topics, the author can be recognized as a lawyer. His interest focused on legislation and jurisdiction in the past and in historically developed legal relations. He also wrote with some pleasure on aspects of everyday life in Willemstad and on the origin of names of streets and plots on Curaçao. The present-day reader still will find much worth knowing on these subjects in this book. Although most of the articles were written 35 to 40 years ago, only one (that on the Orphans' Court) has in the meantime diminished in importance through new publications. This indicates the quality of the studies and justifies the decision to bring them within reach of a greater public. It also illustrates how little Antillians up to now followed in the track of this illustrious predecessor.

The way in which this volume was edited by J. E. SPRUIT and E. VOGES is not spotless, for they had a rather limited sense of their editorial role. The volume would have been improved if the editors had added an index and, where relevant, had mentioned new studies that were written since the first publication of these articles. Typographical and other errors have not always been caught; on pages 140-146 at least 33 typographical errors in the original publication (most of them in Spanish words and sentences) have not been corrected. The "Verantwoording" is sometimes in error about where the articles were originally published. The editors' decision to collect all the articles which DE LA TRY ELLIS published has led them to include in this volume an article on the December 1942 speech in which Queen Wilhelmina announced a new political future for the Dutch colonies. In terms of its subject and significance, this three-page eulogy on Queen Wilhelmina and the House of Orange does not fit well with the rest of this volume.

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Curaçao zonder/met Shell: een bijdrage tot de bestudering van demografische, economische en sociale processen in de periode 1900-1929.
 JEROEN J.H. DEKKER. Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1982. 240 pp. (Paper Dfl. 39,50)

The central problem of this study is the influence of the establishment of Shell (in 1915) on Curaçaoan society, in particular on the standard of living of the population. The author tackles his subject with three hypotheses:

1. As a result of the establishment of Shell, the agricultural-commercial society of Curaçao was transformed into a modern capitalist-industrial one.
2. Social and economic circumstances (i.e. income, supply of food and water, health and welfare, death rate) improved.
3. Social relationships altered, evidenced by increasing social mobility to the advantage of large groups of Curaçaoan society.

To test these hypotheses DEKKER compares a period 'without Shell' (1900-1915) to a period 'with Shell' (1915-1929). He bases his study mainly on a careful investigation of the so-called 'Colonial Reports.' These reports contain the information on the state of the colonies presented yearly by the Colonial Secretary to Dutch parliament. Statistical data taken from these reports and from some other sources are presented in 85 tables and graphs collected in the second part of the book; the first contains the analysis.

DEKKER's study shows that Curaçao indeed turned into a capitalist-industrialized society in the third decade of this century. (Perhaps the commercial part should not be forgotten; commerce is till today one of the mainstays of Curaçao economy.) However, material conditions of the population hardly improved. The death rate was only slightly lower at the end of the twenties than at the beginning of the century; infant mortality was even higher in the third decade. Employment opportunities increased, but the bargaining power of Curaçao workers was mitigated by the inflow of labourers from other parts of the Caribbean; vertical mobility was hindered by the engagement of new staff from the Netherlands. The effect of rising wages was probably nullified by a steep inflation.

DEKKER has enriched our knowledge of Curaçao society with an essay based on 'hard' figures; yet I have some problems with this book. DEKKER chooses 1915 as the turning point in the social-economic history of Curaçao. True, in that year the Royal/Shell group decided to build a refinery on the island. However, the refinery was not brought into operation until 1918 and only started to work "fairly continuously" in 1923 (VAN SOEST 1976: 194). That Shell was not a flourishing business in its initial years is also clear from the fact that in 1919 and 1920 about 2000 Curaçaoans migrated to Cuba to work in the cane-fields (PAULA 1973). As DEKKER is familiar with both VAN SOEST's and PAULA's studies, he cannot present 1915 as the 'watershed' of the social-economic history of Curaçao and entertain the expectations formulated in the second and third hypothesis. It creates some irritation to have DEKKER first refer to the 1919, 1920 decrease of population as "puzzling" (p. 14) or "obscure" (p. 87), only to clear up the mystery in the last chapter. Moreover, the author fails to inform us about an important reason why so little was done to improve material conditions of the working population after Shell got through its take-off period and was doing well (1923-1930). It was not only a lack of interest in the fate of the poor; in those days Curaçao was struggling to attain more independence from the colonial power.

One way to try to reach that goal was to keep government expenses as low as possible: a balanced budget would deprive Dutch parliament of the pretext to meddle in local affairs.

DEKKER does not need the artificial suspense referred to, as his book reads as a gripping account of the history of Curaçao of the first decades of this century; besides, the wealth of statistical data presented will remain an important source of information for further research on this particular period of time.

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NIEUWE WEST-INDISCHE GIDS
REGISTER OP DE JAARGANGEN XL-LV, 1960-1981

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EDITORS' NOTE

In a year when the *New West Indian Guide* is initiating new editorial policies, establishing new disciplinary orientations, and building an expanded international readership, it seems appropriate to remind ourselves of the journal's past resources. Toward this end, Dr. P. WAGENAAR HUMMELINCK has compiled a "Register" of contributions to the NWIG from 1960 through 1981 (vols. 40-55) which supplements similar indexes made in 1945 (of vols. 1-25) and 1964 (of vols. 26-39).

Dr. WAGENAAR HUMMELINCK has prefaced this index with a review of the journal's history through 1981, which is intended mainly for our readers in the Netherlands. In paying homage to those who have maintained the journal as a major source of scholarship on the Caribbean region, he has left one notable omission by not mentioning his own long-standing support. An active contributor to the journal and member of the editorial board since 1947, Dr. WAGENAAR HUMMELINCK assumed the position of Managing Editor in 1950. Generously offering his scholarly knowledge, managerial skills, editorial experience and financial support, he was responsible for keeping the journal alive in times of austerity and has now helped it set new goals in this time of expansion. His fellow editors wish to thank him for all that he has done, and to acknowledge how much the journal's new directions are based on foundations that he helped to build.

VOORWOORD

Dit 'Register' geeft een overzicht van de inhoud van de laatste zestien 'jaargangen' van een Nederlands-talig tijdschrift, dat — sinds zijn oprichting in 1919 — een gestadige stroom van wetenschappelijk-verantwoorde bijdragen tot de kennis van Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen heeft gepubliceerd. Te beginnen met de zes-en-vijftigste jaargang is de *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* echter een periodiek geworden, waarin alleen nog in de Engelse taal gestelde artikelen worden opgenomen op het gebied van de sociale wetenschappen en de humaniora.

De omstandigheid, dat dit het laatste Register is op delen van een *West-Indische Gids* met bijdragen op velerlei gebied in de Nederlandse taal, moge een rechtvaardiging zijn voor het korte historische overzicht dat hieronder wordt gegeven.

De West-Indische Gids werd opgericht op een ogenblik dat men behoefte gevoelde de door de samenstelling van de *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië*¹⁾ aangewakkerde belangstelling voor Suriname en Curaçao niet te laten verflauwen. De oprichters waren dr. H.J. BENJAMINS²⁾, mr. D. FOCK³⁾, prof. dr. J. BOEKE⁴⁾ en C.A.J. STRUYCKEN DE ROYSA NCOUR⁵⁾.

De stuwende kracht gedurende de eerste jaren was duidelijk BENJAMINS, die als secretaris/eindredacteur werd opgevolgd door mr. dr. B. DE GAAY FORTMAN⁶⁾. Belangrijk was ook de toetreding tot de redactie van Joh. F. SNELLEMAN⁷⁾, W.R. MENKMAN⁸⁾, mr. JOHANNA FELHOEN KRAAL⁹⁾ en dr. J.H. WESTERMANN¹⁰⁾. Aan de toewijding van DE GAAY FORTMAN en MENKMAN is het te danken dat *De West-Indische Gids* gedurende vele jaren een tijdschrift van

betekenis heeft kunnen blijven — want ook toen waren er al ogenblikken, zoals in de herfst van 1949, dat men zich in alle ernst afvroeg of men maar niet beter met deze uitgave kon stoppen.

Dat *De West-Indische Gids* een zo goed verzorgd tijdschrift heeft kunnen zijn, is zeker voor een groot deel te danken aan de belangstelling en zakelijke steun van WOUTER NIJHOFF¹¹⁾, voor wie deze uitgave nimmer een commercieel-aantrekkelijke onderneming is geweest.

De eerste aflevering verscheen in mei 1919. Mr. Fock schreef het 'Voorwoord van de Redactie', waarin de hoop wordt uitgesproken "dat het door dit tijdschrift zal gelukken iets in het belang der koloniën te bereiken". Het eerste artikel was van de hand van H. VAN KOL¹²⁾, over 'De Koloniale Staten', onder het motto: "Hoe eer gij den knaap behandelt als een man, des te eer zal hij beginnen een man te zijn."

De eerste jaargang bestond uit twee delen, samen niet minder dan 1021 bladzijden. Op de omslag staat aanvankelijk "Algemeene Uitgevers Maatschappij 'Ad Usam Mundi', Amsterdam (Dir. G.H. Jonckheer)", later "N.V. Boek- en Handelsdrukkerij voorheen Ipenbuur & van Seldam, Amsterdam." Te beginnen met de tweede jaargang werd *De West-Indische Gids* een uitgave van "Martinus Nijhoff, 's-Gravenhage" — totdat de medewerking van deze firma ná het verschijnen van de negen-en-veertigste jaargang, in 1973 werd gestaakt.

De eerste 30 jaren — waarin BENJAMINS en DE GAAY FORTMAN secretaris/eindredacteur waren en MENKMAN, SNELLEMAN, FRED. OUDSCHANS DENTZ¹³⁾, Jhr. L.C. VAN PANHUYS¹⁴⁾ en C.D. KESLER¹⁵⁾ de meest vruchtbare medewerkers — kan gevoeglijk als de bloeiperiode van *De West-Indische Gids* beschouwd worden. Dit was een tijd waarin de gemiddelde omvang van één jaargang bijna 400 pagina's bedroeg, terwijl die van de 25 jaargangen daarna (1950-1981) nauwelijks 250 bladzijden haalde.

Na het beëindigen van de negen-en-dertigste jaargang besloot men — op aandringen van de 'Stichting Culturele Samenwerking' (STICUSA) — *De West-Indische Gids* te laten samengaan met de tijdschriften *Vox Guyanae* en *Christoffel* in één periodiek: de

Nieuwe West-Indische Gids. Daarbij werden drie redacties gevormd — in Nederland, Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen — welke elk een deel van de inhoud van het tijdschrift voor hun rekening zouden nemen. Toen deze constructie — na een korte periode van samenwerking (1960–1967, jrg. 40–45) — niet aan haar doel bleek te beantwoorden, keerde men terug tot één redactiecommissie, bestaande uit de ‘Redactie Nederland’, welke eerst nog met enkele personen werd uitgebreid, maar einde 1981 nog slechts uit vier leden bestond.

Gezien het feit dat het aantal abonnees steeds gering kon worden genoemd, zal het niemand verwonderen dat het voortbestaan van de *Gids* vele malen onderwerp van bespreking is geweest — vooral toen de Firma Nijhoff haar bemoeïngen met dit tijdschrift had gestaakt, nadat het ‘Fonds West-Indische Gids’ (dat door dr. J.H. WESTERMANN was gevormd met het doel de tekorten op de exploitatie zo veel mogelijk bij te passen) steeds minder aan zijn doel bleek te kunnen beantwoorden.

Een uit dit Fonds voortgekomen ‘Stichting Nieuwe West-Indische Gids’ heeft daarna de uitgave op zich genomen, maar achtte — nadat dankzij de financiële steun van STICUSA nog zes jaargangen het licht konden zien — na het beëindigen van de vijftien-vijftigste jaargang toch het ogenblik gekomen om te trachten, door een wijziging van opzet, het voortbestaan van de *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* als *New West Indian Guide* te verzekeren.

Dit ‘REGISTER’, is eenvoudiger dan die van de jaargangen 1–25 en 26–39, omdat een aantal kleine rubrieken zijn verdwenen en de Lijst van Trefwoorden niet meer volgens geografische gebieden is opgesplitst.

Deze Lijst van Trefwoorden is — in overeenstemming met die in de vorige Registers — in het Nederlands gegeven, in tegenstelling tot die van de Artikelen en de Besproken Boeken, waarvoor een Engelse versie is gekozen.

De medewerking van STANLEY R. CRIENS is voor het tot stand komen van dit Register van grote betekenis geweest.

NOTES

1. De *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië*, onder redactie van H.D. BENJAMINS & JOH. F. SNELLEMAN, verscheen in afleveringen: p. 1-64 en 65-128 in mei, 129-192 in juni, 193-256 in juli, 257-320 in oktober 1914; 321-384 in maart, 385-448 in mei, 449-512 in december 1915; 513-576 in februari, 557-640 in april, 641-704 in september, 705-768 in november 1916; 769-782 + voorwerk in februari 1917.

2. Dr. H.D. BENJAMINS (25.II.1850 — 23.I.1933), de man waaraan de *W.I.G.* misschien wel het meest te danken heeft, was Inspecteur van het Onderwijs in Suriname en een groot kenner van land en volk. — Zie 14, 1931, p. 337-338, en 11, 1930, 3 pp. + portret vóór p. 497.

3. Mr. D. FOCK (19.VI.1858 — 17.X.1941) was Minister van Koloniën en (van 1908-1911) Gouverneur van Suriname. Hij trad uit de redactie toen hij werd benoemd tot Gouverneur-Generaal van Nederlandsch-Indië.

4. Prof. dr. J. BOEKE (23.X.1874 — 12.IX.1956), hoogleraar in de medische anatomie en histologie, schreef in 1907 een uitvoerig rapport over de visserij en de industrie van zeeproducten in de Kolonie Curaçao. — Zie 37, 1956, p. 1-4, portr.

5. C.A.J. STRUYCKEN DE ROYSCOUR, die de geestelijke vader van de *W.I.G.* kan worden genoemd, was oud-administrateur van Financiën in Suriname. Vooral in de eerste moeilijke jaren heeft hij veel voor dit tijdschrift gedaan. — Zie 15, vóór p. 49.

6. Mr. B. DE GAAY FORTMAN (17.IX.1884 — 16.VII.1961) promoveerde op een-en-twintig-jarige leeftijd op een proefschrift over 'Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp en de Grondwet van 1814.' Na een verblijf van 1912-1915 op Curaçao ontwikkelde hij zich tot een deskundige op juridisch en historisch gebied, die zich zijn leven lang met de Nederlandse Antillen is blijven bezig houden. — Zie 37, 1957, p. 69-70, portr.

7. JOH. F. SNELLEMAN (26.XII.1852 — 1938) was een journalistiek begaafd man en een veelzijdig geleerde. Hij was redacteur van twee encyclopedieën: van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië en van Nederlandsch West-Indië. — Zie 14, 1933, p. 305-310, portr.

8. W.R. MENKMAN (18.VI.1876 — 2.XII.1968) leerde Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen kennen als vertegenwoordiger van de Koninklijke Nederlandsche West-Indische Maildienst. Hij was een van de laatste figuren van de 'oude garde' die hun gaven op publicistisch gebied in dienst stelden van deze gebieden, in een tijd dat van enige algemene belangstelling voor de Overzeese Rijksdelen nog geen sprake was. — Zie 44, 1965, p. 75-77, portr.; 46, 1968, p. 297.

9. Mr. J.L.G. FELHOEN KRAAL (22.X.1902 — 18.II.1965) was, gedurende de zeven-en-dertig jaren dat zij in dienst was van de Afd. Volkenkunde van het Koloniaal Instituut (later Afd. Antropologie v.h. Kon. Inst. v.d. Tropen) nauw betrokken bij commissies en redacties op het gebied van de historie, de letteren, het staatsrecht en de culturele antropologie, waarbij de positie van de vrouw haar bijzondere aandacht had. In 1947/48 werd zij gedetacheerd bij de Caraïbische Commissie in Trinidad. — Zie 44, 1965, p. 153-161, portr.

10. Dr. J.H. WESTERMANN (1.VI.1907 — 10.V.1981) heeft als directeur van het Voorlichtingsinstituut voor het Welvaartsplan Nederlandse Antillen, als adjunct-directeur van de Stichting Zuiver Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (Z.W.O.), als bestuurslid van de Natuurwetenschappelijke Studiekring, en van verscheidene andere organisaties, veel voor Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen betekend. Hij was een onvermoeid strijder voor het behoud van de levende Natuur, en heeft meer dan iemand anders bijgedragen tot onze kennis van de geologie van de Nederlandse Antillen. — Zie 55, 1981, p. 104-107, portr.

11. WOUTER NIJHOFF (19.XI.1866 — 9.IX.1927) kreeg in 1906 de leiding van de N.V. Martinus Nijhoff's Boekhandel en Uitgevers-Maatschappij. Hij werd bekend om zijn werken op bibliografisch en typografisch gebied. Zijn oudste dochter huwde met F.G.H. WAGNER, die directeur was van de N.V. van de Garde & Co te Zaltbommel, waarbij de *W.I.G.* werd gedrukt.

12. H.H. VAN KOL (1852 — 1925) werkte als ingenieur in Nederlandsch Indië, was in 1894 een van de oprichters van de S.D.A.P., en had twaalf jaren lang zitting in de Tweede Kamer. Hij publiceerde veel reisherinneringen, waaronder 'Naar de Antillen en Venezuela' (1904).

13. FRED. OUDSCHANS DENTZ (3.IX.1876 — 19.VII.1961) ging in 1902 als plantage-opzichter naar Suriname, was van 1910-1926 administrateur van het Militair Hospitaal te Paramaribo, en trad daarna in dienst van het Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond. Hij was algemeen gewaardeerd als ijverig werker op cultureel en historisch gebied. — Zie 42, 1963, p. 187-189, portr.

14. Jhr. L.C. VAN PANHUYS (8.III.1869 — 1.X.1949) ging op jeugdige leeftijd naar Suriname, waar hij, als gouvernementsambtenaar, grote belangstelling kreeg voor de oorspronkelijke bewoners van dit land. Na terugkomst in Nederland werd hij geplaatst op de Westindische afdeling van het Departement, waarbij hij voort ging met het publiceren van studies welke hem tot een bekend amerikanist maakten. — Zie 30, 1949, p. 362.

15. C.K. KESLER (22.V.1869 — 21.I.1945) vertrok in 1908 naar De West, waar hij gedurende zes jaar in Willemstad, en daarna nog eens tien jaren in Paramaribo, in het onderwijs werkzaam was. Na zijn terugkeer in Nederland waren het vooral geschiedkundige studies welke hem bezig hielden. — Zie 27, 1946, p. 92-93.

LIJST VAN REDACTEUREN

De West-Indische Gids, jrg. 1-39 (1919-1959)*Nieuwe West-Indische Gids*, jrg. 40-55 (1960-1981)

Dr. H.D. BENJAMINS	1919 (1)-1932 (14) [eindred. 2-14]
Prof. Dr. J. BOEKE	1919 (1)-1949 (30)
Mr. D. FOCK	1919 (1)-1920 (2)
C.A.J. STRUYCKEN DE ROYSANCOUR	1919 (1)-1933 (14) [eindred. 1]
Mr. B. DE GAAY FORTMAN	1922 (4)-1955 (36) [eindred. 15-30]
JOH. F. SNELLEMAN	1922 (4)-1937 (19)
W.R. MENKMAN	1934 (16)-1964 (43)
H. SCHÜTZ	1934 (16)-1937 (18)
Dr. P. WAGENAAR HUMMELINCK	1947 (28)-heden [eindred. 31-heden]
Mr. JOHANNA FELHOEN KRAAL	1951 (32)-1965 (44)
Dr. J.H. WESTERMANN	1951 (32)-1981 (55)
Dr. G.J. KRUIJER	1958 (38)-1975 (50)
Drs. LOUISE J. VAN DER STEEN	1966 (45)-heden
Dr. Mr. J.H. ADHIN	1971 (48)-1980 (54)
Dr. D.C. GEIJSKES	1971 (48)-1979 (53)
Ir. F.C. BUBBERMAN	1978 (53)-1980 (54)
Drs. L.H. DAAL	1978 (53)-1980 (54)
Prof. Dr. H. HOETINK	1978 (53)-heden
Prof. Dr. H.U.E. THODEN VAN VELZEN	1978 (53)-heden

Tijdens de periode van samenwerking met *Vox Guyanae* (Suriname) en *Christoffel* (Nederlandse Antillen) — 1960-1967, jrg. 40-45 — werden vermeld als leden van de

Redactie Suriname (40:1-79; 41:1-60, 294-302; 42:213-313; 43:101-174): dr. mr. J.H. ADHIN, dr. W.A. COLLIER, dr. D.G. GEIJSKES, W.L. SALM, mr. H. POS; later nog dr. C.F.A. BRUIJNING en dr. ir. F.E. ESSED.

Redactie Nederlandse Antillen (40:185-227; 42:1-80): mr. J.W. ELLIS, dr. ir. P.C. HENRIQUEZ, dr. HANS HERMANS, dr. H. HOETINK, dr. C.J. MICKLINGHOFF, CARLOS RÖMER, RAUL RÖMER, mr. ERGO DE LOS SANTOS, dr. L.W. STATIUS VAN EPS; later nog drs. O. BEAUJON.

VERSCIJNINGSDATA

Jaar-gang	Deel	Jaartal voor-werk	Jaartal op band	Aantal bladz.	Datering
1	1		1919	510	mei-okt. 1919
1	2		1919	511	nov. '19-apr. '20 (1919 → p. 189)
2			1920	640	mei '20-apr. '21 (1920 → p. 432)
3	4	1922	1921	664	mei '21-apr. '22 (1921 → p. 448)
4	5	1923	1922	664	mei '22-apr. '23 (1922 → p. 448)
5	6	1924	1923	664	mei '23-apr. '24 (1923 → p. 448)
6	7	1925	1924	648	mei '24-apr. '25 (1924 → p. 432)
7	8	1926	1925	584	mei '25-apr. '26 (1925 → p. 400)
8	9	1927	1926	572	mei '26-apr. '27 (1926 → p. 388)
9	10	1928	1927	584	mei '27-apr. '28 (1927 → p. 416)
10	11	1929	1928	584	mei '28-apr. '29 (1928 → p. 384)
11	12	1930	1929	584	mei '29-apr. '30 (1929 → p. 392)
12	13	1931	1930	592	mei '30-apr. '31 (1930 → p. 400)
13	14	1932	1931	584	mei '31-apr. '32 (1931 → p. 384)
14	15	1933	1932	440	mei '32-apr. '33 (1932 → p. 304)
15	16	1934	1933	411	mei '33-apr. '34 (1933 → p. 288)
16	17	1935	1934	404	mei '34-apr. '35 (1934 → p. 272)
17	18	1936	1935	400	mei '35-apr. '36 (1935 → p. 272)
18	19	1937	1936	384	mei '36-apr. '37 (1936 → p. 256)
19	20	1937	1937	256	mei-dec. '37
20	21	1938	1938	384	jan.-dec. '38
21	22	1939	1939	400	jan.-dec. '39
22	23	1940	1940	384	jan.-dec. '40
23	24	1941	1941	384	jan.-dec. '41
24	25	1942	1942	384	jan.-dec. '42
25	26	1943	1943	384	jan.-dec. '43
26	27	1944-45	1944-45	256	jan.-juli '44, dec. '45 (1944 → p. 224)
27	28	1946	1946	384	jan.-dec. '46
28	29	1947	1947	384	jan.-dec. '47
29	30	1948	1948	384	jan.-dec. '48
30	31	1949	1949	384	jan.-dec. '49
31		1950	1950-51	256	jan.-dec. '50
32		1951	1950-51	256	jan.-dec. '51
33		1952	1952-53	268	juli '52-febr. '53 (1952 → p. 152)
34		1953	1952-53	271	juni-dec. '53
35		1955	1954-55	242	apr. '54-mrt. '55 (1954 → p. 180)
36		1955-56	1954-55	224	juli '55-mei '56 (1955 → p. 88)
37		1956-57	1956-58	248	dec. '56-dec. '57 (1956 → p. 68)
38		1958	1956-58	184	sept.-dec. '58
39		1959	1959	178	juli-dec. '59
40		1960-61	1960-62	227	juli '60-mrt. '61 (1960 → p. 183)
41		1961-62	1960-62	302	aug. '61-mei '62 (1961 → p. 203)
42		1962-63	1962-64	313	dec. '62-mei '63 (1962 → p. 80)
43		1963-64	1962-64	229	sept. '63-mei '64 (1963 → p. 100)
44		1965	1965-66	287	apr.-nov. '65
45		1966	1965-66	234	okt.-dec. '66
46		1968	1967-70	335	dec. '67-dec. '68 (1967 → p. 103)
47		1970	1967-70	309	sept. '69-dec. '70 (1969 → p. 107)
48		1971		219	apr.-dec. '71
49		1973		199	nov.-nov. '73 (1972 → p. 128)
50		1975		238	jan.-dec. '75
51		1976		174	jan.-dec. '76
52		1977-78		198	nov. '77-juni '78 (1977 → p. 80)
53		1979		175	sept. '78-juni '79 (1978 → p. 84)
54		1980		274	febr.-dec. '80
55		1981		224	aug.-dec. '81

Register op de jaargangen I-X, 1929, 38 blz., door H. D. BENJAMINS

Register op de jaargangen I-XXV, 1945, 101 blz., door B. DE GAAY FORTMAN

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LIJST VAN ARTIKELEN

IN JRG. 40-55, 1960-1981

Samenvattingen in een andere taal zijn
door een vertaling van de titel aangeduid.

ARTICLES, 1960-1981

Summaries in other languages are indicated
by a translation of the title in parenthesis.

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ADAM, B.H.: Tien jaar Statuut, 1954-1964: De wetgeving; 44, 1965, p. 3-15.

ADHIN, J.H.: Over de 'joint family' der Hindostanen; 40, 1960, p. 17-27. (On the joint family system of the Hindostanis.)

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— De immigratie van Hindostanen en de afstand van de Goudkust; 41, 1961, p. 4-13. (The immigration of Hindustanis and the cession of the Gold Coast.)

— Toepassing van Rooms-Hollands recht in Suriname; 47, 1969, p. 91-95.

— De immigratie-dag van Suriname: 5 juni; 48, 1971, p. 206-219.

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AHLBRINCK, W.: Een bezoek aan het museum in Costa Rica. Oudheidkundige verwantschap tussen Midden-Amerika en Suriname; 40, 1960, p. 50-62, 2 figs. (A visit to the museum of Costa Rica.)

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BOOMERT, A.: Een zoomorph stenen beeldje uit Suriname; **53**, 1978, p. 21-30, 4 figs.

— The Sipaliwini archeological complex of Surinam. A summary; **54**, 1980, p. 94-107, 1 fig.

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BOVENKERK, FRANK: Why returnees generally do not turn out to be 'agents of change': The case of Suriname; **55**, 1981, p. 154-173.

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BULLEN, RIPLEY P. & BULLEN, ADELAIDE E.: Three Indian sites on St. Martin; **45**, 1966, p. 137-144, 2 figs., 3 pls. excl.

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— & — Caracasbaai: a submarine slide of a huge coastal fragment in Curaçao; **51**, 1976, p. 55-88, 13 figs. (Caracasbaai: een onderzees afgegleden deel van het kalksteen-kustgebergte.)

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DE BEET, see BEET.

DE BOER, see BOER.

DEBROT, I.C.: Een coördinerende en stimulerende cultuurpolitiek; **40**, 1961, p. 185–189.

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DE GAAY FORTMAN, see GAAY FORTMAN.

DE GROOT, see GROOT.

DE JONG, see JONG.

DE KIEWIT, see KIEWIT.

DE KRUIJF, see KRUIJF.

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